Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library

NANCY HANKS LINCOLN PUBLIC LIBRARY
Historical Book Collection

The text of this book remains unchanged from the original published version. It should be noted that some comments or words in this edition might be culturally insensitive to certain readers. Views and words of the author or authors are theirs alone and not of the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library. Certain words or slang used in the past had different cultural meanings at the time and might not mean the same thing today.

Publishing and spelling errors remain unchanged from the original versions. All text images were reproduced exactly without changes to the existing material.

792
3377

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH,
THE FOUNDER OF VIRGINIA.

The Life and Adventures

OF

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH:

COMPRISING

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA.

ALSO,

THE EARLY HISTORY OF VIRGINIA AND NEW ENGLAND;

INCLUDING

SKETCHES OF POCAHONTAS, POWHATAN, OPECHANCANOUGH,

AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
1872
CITY OF WASHINGTON

PRINCIPALLY COMPILED FROM HIS OWN WORKS.

BY W. C. ARMSTRONG.

HARTFORD:
SILAS ANDRUS & SON.
1855.

F229
.S712

ENTERED, ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS, IN THE YEAR 1854, BY

SILAS ANDRUS AND SON,

IN THE CLERK'S OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COURT OF CONNECTICUT

FOUNDRY OF SILAS ANDRUS AND SON, HARTFORD.

Press of W. S. Williams.

Dedicated

TO

THE PATRONS OF AUTHENTIC HISTORY,

AND

TO THE SMITH FAMILY IN PARTICULAR,

THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES

AND THE WORLD AT LARGE.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Birth and Parentage of Smith—Propensity for Adventure —Death of his Father—Apprenticed to a Merchant— Clandestine Trip to France—War in the Netherlands —Visits Scotland—Turns Hermit—Tries his Fortune again in France—Is thrown into the Sea—His Rescue —Desperate Encounter and Victory—Immense Booty, 13

CHAPTER II.

Smith travels in Italy and the South of Europe—Enters the Emperor's Service—Ingenious Telegraph—Success at Olympach—Smith's Promotion—Siege of Alba Regalis—Efficiency of the Fiery Dragons—the Christians Victorious—Battle of Girke—Death of Duke Mercury, 21

CHAPTER III.

Smith enlists with Meldritch in the Service of Sigismund —Regall Besieged—Challenge from the Turks—Smith slays Three in Single Combat—Both Armies finally Encounter—the Christians again Victorious—Honors and Pension to Smith, ... 32

CHAPTER IV.

Sigismund concludes a Treaty of Peace—Transfer of the Army—Revolt of Wallachia—Defeat of the Rebels with Great Slaughter—Encounter with the Tartars—"A Pretty Stratagem" by Smith—Battle of Rotenton—Prowess of Smith—His Wounds, Capture, and Slavery—Charatza Tragabigzanda—Kills his Master—Escapes—Diploma of his Honors—Visits Africa—Desperate Engagement at Sea—Returns to England—Muley Hamet—Lions, . 39

CHAPTER V.

PAGE

American Settlements in Embryo—Smith and Gosnold plan an Expedition—Company Formed, and Letters Patent granted—Newport selected to command the Vessels—The Colonists leave England—Early Dissensions—Smith made a Prisoner—Arrival—Landing—Council—James River—Explorations—Natives—Site for Town, . 61

CHAPTER VI.

The Council inaugurated, and Smith excluded—Wingfield elected as President—Magnanimity of Smith—Remarks on the Position and Character of the Colonists—Busy Scenes of clearing away the Forest, devising a Fort, and building Habitations—Smith's Perilous Surveying Expedition—Number of Tribes ascertained—Courteous Reception by Powhatan—Jamestown attacked, and the Enemy repulsed, ... 70

CHAPTER VII.

Smith demands a Trial: Honorable Results—Newport sails for England—Scarcity of Provisions—Sickness—Injustice of Wingfield, who is deposed, and Ratcliffe elected in his place—Smith's Diligence in providing for the Settlers: His Explorations and Discoveries—Conspiracy of Wingfield and Kendall defeated—Encounter with Opechancanough—Exploits and Capture of Smith: His Remarkable Adventures among the Savages: their Wonder excited by his Feats of "Sorcery"—Jamestown saved through his Efforts—The Indian's Idea of Gunpowder—Powhatan dooms Smith to Death—Pocahontas preserves his Life—Curious Attempt to Frighten Smith: his Return to Jamestown, ... 74

CHAPTER VIII.

Smith's Artifice—Another Revolt—Trade with the Indians—Arrival of Newport—Nelson's Escape from Shipwreck—Envy and Improvidence of Newport and his Company—Presents to Powhatan: his Cunning Device for Trad-

PAGE

ing: Circumvented by Smith's Blue Beads—Successful Traffic with Opechancanough—Destructive Conflagration at Jamestown—Mismanagement of Supplies—"Sect of Gold-finders"—Wingfield and Archer sent home to England—Arrival of Captain Nelson—Insolence of the Indians punished, ... 89

CHAPTER IX.

Departure of Nelson—Exploration of Chesapeake Bay—Visits to Various Indian Tribes—Discontent among the Crew—Discovery of the Potomac—Severe Accident to Smith from a Stingray—Return to Jamestown—Ratcliffe deposed, and Smith elected President: He appoints Scrivener his substitute—Another Exploring Expedition—the Massawomeks, Tockwoghs, Susquesahanocks, Rappahanocks, Maraughtacunds, Mannahocks, and other Indian Tribes—Numerous Adventures and Narrow Escapes—Return to Jamestown, ... 100

CHAPTER X.

Smith consents to administer the Government—Arrival of Newport with a Crown and other Absurd Gifts for Powhatan—Smith opposes his Course, but is Overruled: Visits Powhatan, who finally submits to a Coronation—Newport's Unfortunate Expedition to the Manakins—Novel Remedy for Profanity---Smith's Success in procuring Corn: Plot to Injure him Overthrown ---Newport and his Mariners the Source of much Mischief and Misrepresentation---Complaints of the Council in England---Smith's Rejoinder, ... 121

CHAPTER XI

Famine---Desperate Efforts to procure Supplies---First Marriage in America---House for Powhatan---Smith and others embark on an Adventurous Expedition---Christmas spent among the Indians---Arrival at Werowocomoco---Interview of Smith and Powhatan---Treachery of the Germans—Crafty Speech of Powhatan—Jeopardy of Smith and his Companions---Duplicity of the Indians

PAGE

---Pocahontas warns Smith of his Danger: his Vigilance: Departure---Arms stolen by the Germans for Powhatan---Arrival of Smith at Pamunkey---Deception of Opechancanough---Smith challenges him to Single Combat---Seizes him, and obtains his Demands---Serious Accident at Jamestown---Smith's Return---Disorderly State of Affairs---German Deserters detected---Encounter of Smith and Paspahey: Escape of the latter, and Subsequent Meeting---Indian Oratory—Compact for Peace, ... 136

CHAPTER XII.

Effects of Smith's Intrepidity—Benefits of some Pretended Miracles—Encouraging Spirit of the Settlers—Ravages of the Rats—New Quarters necessary for Subsistence—Evils of Insolence again Prevalent—Deserters returned by the Indians—Expedition to the Mangoags: their Friendship—Villany of Volday—Indignation of the People—Course of Powhatan—Arrival of Argall, 158

CHAPTER XIII.

The old Charter and Officers superseded—Extensive Fleet, with Reinforcements—Shipwreck of the new Governors—Arrival of the Fleet—Surprise of Smith—Troublesome Factions—Character of the new Recruits—Fate of the Germans and Volday—Vigorous Measures of Smith—Imprisonment of the Factious Leaders—Attempts at New Settlements—More Difficulties with the Indians—Purchase of Powhatan—Mutiny against Smith: his Escape—Complaints of the Indians: their Revenge—Nonsuch founded and abandoned—Severe Accident to Smith: his Return to England necessary: Peculiarities of his Situation: his Character, . . . 167

CHAPTER XIV.

The Sea-Venture and the Governors—Isle of Devils: its Animal and Vegetable Productions—The Shipwrecked Party leave for Vrginia: Desperate Condition of Affairs in that Region: "The Starving Time"—Resolution to abandon the Settlement: Happily Frustrated by the ar-

PAGE

rival of Lord Delaware—Important Assistance from England--Projected New Settlements--Pocahontas made a Prisoner—Powhatan apprised of her Situation: His Answer—Skirmishes with the Indians—Two Brothers of Pocahontas—Partial Arrangement of Difficulties—Marriage of Pocahontas and Rolfe: Embarkation for England: Arrival, ... 182

CHAPTER XV.

Smith engages in New Explorations on the Northern American Coasts: Success and Return—His Agreement with Prince Charles in regard to the Names of several Important Places: Villany of his Associate, Captain Hunt—High Anticipations of Smith—Promise of the Plymouth Company: Engagement with them—Better Offers declined—Expedition under Cooper sails from London--Sir Ferdinand Gorges—Cunning Device of a Kidnapped Indian to get Home—Abortive Attempts to unite the London and Plymouth Companies—Failure of the latter to redeem their promises—Two Vessels at last provided, in which Smith sails: His Return, disabled by a Storm: Sails again in another Craft—Encounter with Pirates—Captured by a French Cruiser: His Sailors escape with the English Vessel: Smith detained a Prisoner: Occasional Employment in Fighting and Writing—Captain Barra, "an English Pirat"—A Rich Prize—Liberal Promises to Smith, who is taken to France—False Accusations—Fortunate Escape—New Trials and Difficulties ---Return to England, ... 195

CHAPTER XVI.

Smith and his Crew of Deserters: He engages again with the Plymoutheans: Publishes his Book on New England: is created Admiral of that Country---Arrival of Pocahontas--Interview with Smith--Distinction between the Laws of Nature and the Laws of State Etiquette—Smith's Letter to the Queen in behalf of Pocahontas, who is favorably received at Court and elsewhere—Amusing Incidents of Smith's first Interview with Pocahontas —Hopeless Mission of Uttamatomakkin to Number the People: His Correct Idea of King James—Change in

PAGE

the Affairs of Virginia—Rolfe appointed to Office—Unexpected Death of Pocahontas: Her Little Son adopted by his Uncle: Is educated in London, and returns to Virginia: His Numerous Descendants—Character of Pocahontas, ... 212

CHAPTER XVII.

Smith's Efforts to colonize New England and establish Fisheries—Causes of Holland's Prosperity—Resources of New England—Appeal to the Spirit of Independence—Death of Powhatan: His Successor—Treachery of Opechancanough—Jack of the Feather—Horrible Massacre of the Settlers: its Effect upon the Colony—Retribution—Offer of Smith—Slanders of Argall and his Associates against the Colony—Favorable Testimony of Smith: Recapitulation of his Virginian Adventures: His Answers to Interrogatories propounded by Commissioners to investigate the Affairs of the Colony—Abrogation of the Charter of the Virginia Company—Smith engages in the publication of several Valuable Works: His Death: Prominent Characteristics—Specimens of Poetical Laudation from his Friends, ... 229

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth and Parentage—Early Propensity for Adventure—Death of his Father—Apprenticed to a Merchant—Clandestine Trip to France—War in the Netherlands—Visits Scotland—Turns Hermit—Tries his Fortune again in France—Is thrown into the Sea—His Rescue—Desperate Encounter and Victory—Immense Booty.

According to Smith's own account of himself—an account from which a large portion of this work is compiled—he was descended from a respectable family in Willoughby, Lincolnshire, England, where he was born in 1579. He was early imbued with a spirit of adventure, from the full exercise of which he was partially restrained by parental authority. Even at the age of thirteen, he entertained an unconquerable desire for seeing the world, and secretly sold his books and satchell in order to raise money for accomplishing his purpose, when the death of his father interrupted his project. The guardians of his estate, seeming to think more of *it* than *him*, would not furnish him any "means to get beyond sea," and

when about fifteen years old he was apprenticed to the mercantile business at Lynn—his master being "the greatest merchant of all those parts." About this time he was on such terms with a son of Lord Willoughby, that he left the service in which he was engaged, and accompanied him to France—thus gratifying (what had been so far checked) his yearnings for "going beyond sea." He did not long remain with the companion of his voyage, but visited several towns in France; and at Paris became acquainted with "one Master David Hume," who not only administered to his pecuniary necessities, but gave him "letters to his friends in Scotland to prefer him to King James." From Paris he proceeded to the Netherlands, to assist that injured country in resisting Spanish tyranny; and served some three or four years under Captain Duxbury—an Englishman, commanding in the service of Prince Maurice. He then concluded to make a journey to Scotland, but was shipwrecked at Holy Isle, and suffered much from sickness. After his recovery, he reached Scotland, and delivered his letters, which secured him a very favorable reception among the writer's friends; but finding no chance of preferment at the Scottish court, he indulged himself in a visit to Willoughby. Not meeting with any special attractions in the social circles of his native town, he resolved to become a recluse, after a fashion peculiar to himself; and for this purpose he "retired into a little wooddie pasture, a good way from any town, invironed with many hundred acres of other woods. Here

by a faire brook he built a pavillion of boughes, where only in his cloaths he lay. His studie was *Machiavills* Art of Warre, and *Marcus Aurelius;* his exercise a good horse, with his lance and ring; his food was thought to be more of venison than anything else." Unlike most of the hermit class, he kept a man, and we are told that "what he wanted, his man brought him." While in this retreat, he became acquainted with "an excellent horseman and a noble Italian gentleman," named Polaloga, who was riding-master to the Earl of Lincoln, and whose "good discourse and exercise of riding drew him to stay with him at Tattersall" for a brief period.—"Long these pleasures could not content him," and he determined upon again returning to the Low Countries; regarding himself as materially improved with "such rudiments of warre as his tender years in those martial schooles could attain unto." He was also "desirous to see more of the world, and trie his fortune against the Turkes, both lamenting and repenting to have seene so many Christians slaughter one another."

On the eve of his embarkation for France, Smith fell in with "four French gallants"—gentlemen living by their wits—who were his companions on the voyage, and who contrived to rob him after his arrival of all his money and clothing—leaving him so destitute that he was "forced to sell his cloake to pay for his passage." One of them, assuming the title of Lord Depreau, palmed himself off for an influential personage, and promised our hero all sorts of countenance

and assistance in his chivalric enterprise, while the other three played their parts as his lordship's "gentlemen." When about landing at Picardy, his new acquaintance "plotted with the master of the ship to set his (Smith's) and their own trunckes a shore, leaving Smith aboard till the boat could returne, which was the next day after, towards evening. The reason hee alleaged was, the sea went so high hee could come no sooner, and that his lord was gone to Amiens, where they would stay his coming; which treacherous villany, when divers other souldiers and passengers understood, they had like to have slaine the master, and, had they knowne how, would have runne away with the ship."

He was soon undeceived as to the character of his late companions by a fellow-passenger, named Curzianvere, who, "compassionating his injury, assured him this great Lord Depreau was only the sonne of a lawyer of Mortaigne in base Britany, and his attendants—Cursell, La Nelie, and Monferrat—three young citizens, as arrant cheats as himselfe." His newly-found friend proved a friend indeed. He not only "supplied his wants," but also "brought him to Mortaigne, where he found Depreau and the rest, but to small purpose; for Mr. Curzianvere was a banished man, and durst not be seene but to his friends; yet the bruit of their cosenage occasioned the Lady Collumber and divers other honorable persons to supply his wants, and with them to recreate himself so long as he would."

Smith had no taste for the life of a Sponge;

"such pleasant pleasures suiting little with his poore estate," he withdrew from his hospitable friends, with the determination of seeking better means of accomplishing the purpose for which he left England—that of fighting the Turks. "In wandering from port to port to finde some man of warre, he spent that he had, and in a Forest, neere dead with griefe and cold, a rich Farmer found him by a faire Fountaine under a tree. This kinde Pesant releeved him againe, to his content to follow his intent. Not long after, as he passed through a great grove of trees, it was his chance to meet Cursell, more miserable than himselfe. His piercing injuries had so small patience, as without any word they both drew, and in a short time Cursell fell to the ground, where from an old ruinated Tower the inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard Cursell confesse what had formerly passed."

According to the confession of Cursell, his associates did not recognise the principle of "honor among thieves;" for, in dividing what they had stolen from Smith, "they fell by the ears amongst themselves," and he received little more than some unwelcome blows for his share. After exchanging forgiveness with his wounded adversary, and leaving him to the care of the peasantry who had flocked around, Smith directed his course to the Earl of Ployer, whom he had formerly known during the war in France, and by whom he was kindly received and entertained. The earl was at some pains to visit with his

guest all the prominent objects of interest in his neighborhood; and on his departure, after tarrying a reasonable time, "he was better rēfurnished than ever."

From this time Smith freely indulged his ruling propensity—travelling leisurely through various towns, inspecting whatever was curious or notable, until he reached Marseilles; where, "imbarking himself for Italy, the ship was enforced to Tolonne." We are led to infer that the vessel was refitted, and put to sea again with better prospects. But the war of elements was not yet ended: the "ill weather so grew upon them, they anchored close aboard the shore, under the little Isle of St. Mary," off Nice. Here his fellow-passengers (whom he designates as "inhumane Provincialls" and "a rable of Pilgrimes of divers nations going to Rome") suddenly came to the very sage conclusion that he was a sort of Jonah among them. For lack of better pastime, they fell to "hourely cursing him, not only for a Hugonoit, but his Nation they swore were all Pyrats, and so vildly railed on his dread soveraigne, Queene Elizabeth, and that they never should have faire weather so long as hee was aboard them; their disputations grew to that passion that they threw him over-board; yet God brought him to that little Isle, where was no inhabitants but a few kine and goats." On the next morning he was taken on board another vessel, which had "put in by the storm," and was so well "regarded and entertained" by the captain, that "he was well contented to try the

rest of his fortune with them." This vessel, it appears, was bound for Alexandria, whither she had a prosperous voyage, and delivered her cargo. Neither the vessel nor Smith seem to have had any particular destination after this:* for "they went to Scandaroone, rather to view what ships was in the roade than anything else," and thence proceeded (apparently on a cruise) to various islands in the Mediterranean. While laying to between Corfu and the Cape of Otranto, they met with a Venetian argosy, which the captain was desirous of speaking; and on approaching for that object, he received "such an untoward answer as slew them a man." It is evident from what followed that this unfriendly answer was not entirely unexpected; but as we have no idea of rivalling the talents of Cooper or Maryatt in the description of a sea-fight, Smith shall be permitted to describe the succeeding scenes in his own expressive language:

As a rejoinder to the single gun of the argosy, "the Britaine presently gave them the broad-side, then his Sterne, and his other broad-side also, and continued the chase, with his chase peeces, till he gave them so many broad-sides one after another, that the Argosies sayles and tackling was so torne, she stood to her defence, and made shot for shot; twice in one houre and

* Both the character of the vessel and the capacity in which Smith was acting are alike left to conjecture, and we are warranted in the conclusion that the one was something more than a merchantman, and the other something more than a passenger.

a halfe the Britaine boarded her, yet they cleared themselves, but clapping her aboard againe, the Argosie fired him, which with much danger to them both was presently quenched. This rather augmented the Britaines rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himselfe againe, shot her so oft betweene wind and water, she was readie to sinke, then they yeelded; the Britaine lost fifteene men, she twentie, besides divers were hurt, the rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the prisoners that were chained, the rest to rifle her. The Silkes, Velvets, Cloth of Gold, and Tissue, Pyasters, Chicqueenes, and Sultanies, (which is gold and silver,) they unloaded in foure and twentie houres, was wonderfull, whereof having sufficient, and tired with toile, they cast her off with her company, with as much good merchandize as would have fraughted such another Britaine, that was but two hundred tunnes, shee foure or five hundred."

To repair the great damage sustained in this desperate engagement, was of course a very desirable matter, and the victor accordingly stood for some friendly port where this business could be effected. Smith was set on shore in Piedmont, with "five hundred chicqueenes, and a little box God sent him worth neere as much more"—probably his share of the spoils of the argosy.

CHAPTER II.

Smith travels in Italy and the South of Europe—Enters the Emperor's Service—Ingenious Telegraph—Success at Olympach—Smith's Promotion—Siege of Alba Regalis—Efficiency of the Fiery Dragons—the Christians Victorious—Battle of Girke—Death of Duke Mercury.

It is not likely that our adventurer ever before found himself in so good a condition to gratify his propensity for seeing the world as at this time. "Being glad to have such opportunitie and meanes to better his experience by the view of Italy," he embarked for Leghorn, and thence passed through all the principal cities, carefully noting whatever be considered remarkable or interesting. During his travels he again met with his early friends, "Lord Willoughby and his brother, cruelly wounded in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honor." What was the cause of this "desperate fray"—whether they had become "red republican revolutionists," or had been set upon by Italian bandits, or were merely carrying out the invaluable privileges of independent Englishmen in "kicking up a row"—is left entirely to the sympathetic imagination. Smith did not choose to throw any light upon the subject, nor can we his humble followers; and as it is probable that no other historian has recorded the occurrence, it must for ever remain among those mysteries which are said to be "buried in the womb of time."

At Rome "it was his chance to see Pope

Clement the eight, with as many Cardinalls, creepe up the holy Stayres, which they say are those our Saviour Christ went up to Pontius Pilate, where bloud falling from his head, being pricked with his crowne of thornes, the drops are marked with nailes of steele; upon them none dare goe but in that manner, saying so many *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-Nosters*, as is their devotion, and to kisse the nailes of steele: But on each side is a paire of such like staires, up which you may goe, stand, or kneele, but divided from the holy Staires by two walls: right against them is a Chapell, where hangs a great silver Lampe,which burneth continually, yet they say the oyle neither increaseth nor diminisheth."

When his curiosity had been pretty well satisfied with every thing in and about Italy, he took a turn through Albania, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia, and finally reached Gratz in Styria, where the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, afterwards Emperor of Germany, was then residing. Here he met with an Englishman and an Irish Jesuit, who made him acquainted with "many brave gentlemen of good qualitie, especially with the Lord Ebersbaught," to whom he seems to have communicated certain practical tactics and expedients, which were of much subsequent advantage. He at once so far secured the favorable regards of this nobleman, that he recommended him to Baron Kisell, general of the artillery, and he in turn presented him to "a worthy Colonel, the Earle of Meldritch," into whose regiment he immediately entered.

It will readily be perceived that our hero was now in a situation to gratify his longing for fighting the Turks to its fullest extent. He entered on active service in the latter part of the year 1601, at which time the Turks, with an army of twenty thousand men, were so closely besieging the town of Olympach as to cut off "all intelligence and hope of succour." Lord Ebersbaught was in command of the town, and Smith informed Baron Kisell that he had "taught his worthy friend such a Rule, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his answer, would they but bring him to some place where he might make the flame of a torch seene to the town." The baron was, of course, all anxiety to learn how this important object was to be accomplished, and Smith explained it so comprehensibly, that he was forthwith furnished with the necessary implements for putting his design into execution. Accompanied by several guides, after dark, he repaired "to a mountaine, where he showed three torches, equi-distant from each other, which plainly appearing to the towne, the governour presently apprehended, and answered again with three other fires in like manner—each knowing the other's being and intent. Smith, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words: '*On Thursday at night I will charge on the East: at the Alarum, sally you.*'" Ebersbaught answered, after the same manner, "*I will;*" and thus terminated this first essay at telegraphic correspondence in the Imperial army. In order to

afford the reader an opportunity of contrasting his process of communication with that pursued at the present day, the following explanation is given in his own words:

"First he writ his message as briefe as could be; then divided the Alphabet in two parts thus:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

"The first part from A to L is signified by shewing and hiding one light, so oft as there is letters from A to that letter you meane; the other part from M to Z is mentioned by two lights in like manner. The end of a word is signified by shewing of three lights, ever staying your light at that letter you meane, till the other may write it in a paper, and answer by his signall, which is one light, it is done, beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time, from A to M; by this means also the other returned his answer, whereby each did understand other."

This telegraphic communication was not the only good service which Smith rendered. Kisell was wavering as to the propriety of making the projected attack, particularly as the Turkish forces more than doubled his own; but an ingenious piece of pyrotechny suggested by Smith overcame his irresolution. It had been discovered by the guides that the Turks were so divided in two parts, by the river, they could not readily second each other, and it was important

to devise some means of distracting the attention of one portion by a false alarm, while the imperialists fell suddenly and furiously upon the other. Smith's plan was to prepare "two or three thousand pieces of match, fastened to divers small lines of a hundred fathome in length, being armed with powder," and so arranged that they "might all be fired and stretched, at an instant before the alarum, upon the plaine of Hysnaburg, supported by two staves at each line's end, and in that maner they would seem like so many musketteers." The fullest success attended this stratagem. One portion of the Turks "prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had been some great armie," while Kisell with his ten thousand rushed simultaneously upon the other, "who ranne up and downe as men amazed. It was not long ere Ebersbaught [sallying from the town] was pell-mell with them in their trenches; in which distracted confusion a third part of the Turkes besieging that side towards Knousbrack were slaine; many of the rest were drowned, but all fled." Kisell succeeded in rë-inforcing the town with two thousand additional troops, and retired with small loss, while "the garrison was releeved with that they found in the Turkes quarters." The enemy were so disheartened by the issue of this conflict, that they abandoned the siege; and Kisell, having achieved his object, returned to head-quarters, where he was received with much honor. Smith's ingenuity and valor were properly estimated; for we are told they "occasioned him a good reward,

and preferment to be captaine of two hundred and fiftie horse-men, under the conduct of Colonell Voldo, Earle of Meldritch."

For some time after this, so little was done in the way of fighting by either of the belligerents, that "a generall rumour of a generall peace spred itselfe over all the face of those tormented countries;" but notwithstanding this seeming quiet, the Turks were actively engaged in raising all the forces they could muster for the campaign of 1601, and the Emperor was equally busy in making extensive preparations in his own behalf. Indeed, the latter must have been "up to his eyes in business," as the saying is—having no less than "*three* strings to his bow." We are informed that, "by the assistance of the Christian princes," he had "provided three armies: the first—commanded nominally by the Archduke Mathias, but actually by Duke Mercury—was intended "to defend Low Hungary;" the second, under the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, "to rēgaine Caniza;" and the third, under "Gonzago, governor of High Hungary," to rëinforce Georgio Busca, and enable him to "make an absolute conquest of Transylvania."

The first army, in which Count Meldritch and Smith were enlisted, undertook the siege and capture of Alba Regalis, "a place so strong by art and nature, that it was thought impregnable." Here again were the acquirements of our hero in pyrotechny and engineering brought into full requisition, and they contributed in no small degree to the successful issue of the enterprise.

Meldritch had learned from some Christians, who managed to escape from the town, to what quarters the Turks mostly resorted whenever an alarm was sounded, and he concerted with Smith to try what effect his "fiery dragons"* would produce among them. "These he fitly placed in slings, graduated so neere as they could to the places of these Assemblies. At midnight, upon the Alarum, it was a fearfull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the aire; but presently after their fall, the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered Turkes was most wonderfull to hear." But slaughter alone was not their object: they also occasionally fired the suburbs in two or three places at the same time "which so troubled the Turks to quench, that had there been any means to have assaulted them, they could have hardly resisted"

* At the risk of being regarded as altogether "behind time" in this progressive age, we cannot resist the avowal of our belief that some few individuals entertain a laudable curiosity to become acquainted with the form and fashion of these destructive missiles; and as laudable curiosity should never be baulked, we herewith append a verbatim description, from the hand of the inventor himself, which may be of especial interest to posterity, if to nobody else: "Having prepared fortie or fiftie round-bellied earthen pots, and filled them with hand gunpowder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimstone and Turpentine; and quartering as many Musket-bullets, that hung together but only at the center of the division, stucke them round in the mixture about the pots, and covered them againe with the same mixture, over that a strong Sear-cloth, then over all a goode thicknesse of Towze-match well tempered with oyle of Lin-seed, Campheer, and powder of Brimstone."

the combined action of the fire and the soldiers. A concerted manœuvre, calculated to take them by surprise in several quarters, was finally executed with the most complete success, although the Turks defended their positions, foot by foot, in a manner which excited the admiration even of the victors. Almost simultaneously, the outposts or suburbs were gained by the Christians, and the captured ordnance turned upon the city, into which the Turks retreated for a last desperate struggle. Here, too, they were soon overpowered, "with such a mercilesse execution as was most pitifull to behold." The Bashaw, notwithstanding the utter hopelessness of his situation, "drew together a partie of five hundred before his own Pallace, where he intended to die," but after the most of his men were slain before him, Meldritch "tooke him prisoner with his own hands; and, at the hazard of himself, saved him from the fury of other troops," who demolished his palace, and "would have rent him in peeces, had he not been thus preserved."

The first care of the conquerors was to repair the walls and fortifications which they had recently been at such pains to destroy; and this being thoroughly accomplished, they then indulged themselves in suitable rejoicings. The fact that this city, which had been in possession of the Turks for nearly sixty years, was once more under the banner of the Cross, was deemed a matter of gratulation to all Christendom.

But they were not long to enjoy the undisturbed possession of their prize. Sultan Mahomet

was none of your "I can't" sort of individuals. While the Christians were besieging Regalis, he was by no means inactive. He had raised an army of sixty thousand men for its relief, but they were not put in motion till "a day after the fair;" yet when he heard that the city had fallen, he was hardly disposed to regard its rescue as problematical. Three Bashaws, of well-known valor and devotion—Hassan Bashaw, the Bashaw of Buda, and Bashaw Amaroz—were dispatched with the new army, "to see if it were possible to regaine it." Having greater confidence in numbers than in skill and discipline, the Turks set forward at once, not allowing themselves to entertain a doubt of accomplishing their mission. Duke Mercury, however, (who by some means was kept well advised of the enemy's movements,) knowing that the new levies must lack that drilling and military tact so essential to efficient action, resolved on giving them battle with only one-third their number. This resolution taken, he left a strong garrison in the city, and "set forward to meet the Turke in the plaines of Girke." Prominent among his chosen followers were Meldritch and Smith, whose presence on all occasions seems to have been considered indispensable to successful operation. The "two armies encountered as they marched," engaging in "hot and bloudy skirmish" on coming up, regiment against regiment, till the night parted them. Here Earle Meldritch was so invironed amongst those halfe circuler Regiments of Turkes, they supposed him their

prisoner, and his Regiment lost; but his two most couragious friends, Vahan and Culnits, made such a passage amongst them, that it was a terror to see how horse and man lay sprawling and tumbling, some one way, some another on the ground. The Earle there at that time made his valour shine more bright than his armour, which seemed then painted with Turkish bloud: he slew the brave Zanzack Bugola, and made his passage to his friends, but neere halfe his Regiment was slaine. Captain Smith had his horse slaine under him, and himselfe sore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horses that wanted masters. The Turke thinking the victory sure against the Duke, whose Armie, by the Siege and the Garrison he had left behind him, was much weakened, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and lest the Duke should returne to Alba Regalis, he sent that night twenty thousand to besiege the Citie, assuring them he would keepe the Duke or any other from releeving them. Two or three dayes they lay each by other, entrenching themselves; the Turkes daring the Duke daily to a sett battell, who at length drew out his Army, led by the Rhine-Grave, Culnits and Meldritch, who upon their first encounter, charged with that resolute and valiant courage, as disordered not only the formost squadrons of the Turkes, but enforced all the whole Armie to retire to the Campe, with the losse of five or six thousand, with the Bashaw of Buda, and foure or five Zanzacks, with divers

other great Commanders, two hundred Prisoners, and nine peeces of Ordnance. At that instant appeared, as it were, another Armie comming out of a valley over a plaine hill, that caused the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his Trenches; which gave time to Assan to reorder his disordered squadrons: Here they lay nine or ten dayes, and more supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a sett battell; but the souldiers on both parties, by reason of their great wants and approach of winter, grew so discontented, that they were ready of themselves to breake up the Leager; the Bashaw retiring himselfe to Buda, had some of the Reare Troopes cut off. Amaroz Bashaw hearing of this, found such bad welcome at Alba Regalis, and the Towne so strongly repaired, with so brave a Garrison, raised his siege, and retired to Zigetum."

Thus, it will be seen, by tacit consent, both parties agreed to "let well enough alone"—at least, in that quarter. Duke Mercury, however, having an eye to other "fields of high emprise," divided his army into three parts: sending one division of seven thousand, under the Earl of Rosworme, to relieve Caniza; another of six thousand, under the Earl of Meldritch, to assist Busca against the Transylvanians; and retaining the third to garrison "Strigonium and Komara." On returning to Vienna, he was received with great honor by royalty, nobility and commons: "his very picture they esteemed would make them fortunate, which thousands kept as curi-

ously as a precious relique." After indulging awhile in magnificent festivities, he was on the point of returning to France, "to raise new forces against the next yeare." A noble escort accompanied him as far as Nuremberg, where he was "royally feasted" for the last time. "The next morning he was found dead, (how it chanced is not knowne,) and his brother-in-law died two days after; whose hearts with much sorrow were carried into France."

CHAPTER III.

Smith enlists with Meldritch in the Service of Sigismund—Regall Besieged—Challenge from the Turks—Smith slays Three in Single Combat—Both Armies finally Encounter—the Christians victorious—Honors and Pension to Smith.

In the last chapter we have seen that Count Meldritch was dispatched to aid in the conquest of Transylvania, at that time not only struggling to maintain an independent existence, but also engaged in a war with the Turks. The Emperor of Germany was making vigorous efforts to subjugate the country, and place it on a level with his other provinces, while the native prince Sigismund Bathor, was employing every available means to preserve his hereditary rights for his own "use, benefit and behoof." It happened luckily for the latter that Meldritch was a Transylvanian by birth; and, although a soldier of fortune, he seems to have had some "compunc-

tious visitings" as to the propriety of assisting Busca to subject his native land to the emperor's domination. Other reasons, too, no doubt, had their influence with him: both himself and followers may have seen much good judgment in exchanging the "hard payes and travells" of their late employer for "free libertie to make bootie upon what they could get possession of from the Turkes." By whatever motive swayed, his division was "easily persuaded to follow him whithersoever" he might direct. Thus situated, it is not wonderful that he entertained and finally accepted overtures "to assist the Prince against the Turke, rather than Busca against the Prince." For this timely aid, the latter was not ungrateful: Being "glad of so brave a commander, and so many expert and ancient souldiers," he made Meldritch "campmaster of his armie," and furnished whatever necessaries were required by his troops, giving them also "what freedome they desired to plunder the Turkes." It so happened that the Turks were at this time in possession of that part of Transylvania in which the count's paternal estates were situated, and it was very natural that he should wish to expel "the insolent foe" from this territory, in preference to any other. He therefore "desired leave of the Prince to trie his fortunes [in that quarter], and to make use of that experience the time of twentie yeares had taught him in the emperour's service, promising to spend the rest of his dayes for his countries defence in his excellencies service."

This arrangement being satisfactory to all parties, and more particularly to Smith, who could thereby continue to indulge his inclination for "fighting the Turkes," Meldritch made many incursions into the invaded territory, then occupied, we are told, by "some Turkes, some Tartars, but most Banditoes, Rennegadoes, and such like," whom he occasionally "forced into the plaines of Regall." Here, we are also told, was "a citie not only of men and fortifications, strong of itselfe, but so environed with mountaines" that "no attempt had been made upon it to any purpose." Having selected a spot for encampment—one possessing "the most convenient passages for bringing his armie unto it—the earth no sooner put on her greene habit, than the Earle overspread her with his armed troopes." Great difficulties were encountered in transporting the ordnance and stores up the "rugged acclivious slopes;" but energy and perseverance overcame every obstacle, and at last eight thousand men were enabled to pitch their tents before the city. In the interim, the Turks had so "strengthened the towne with men and provision, that they made a scorne of so small a number as Meldritch brought with him"—frequently sallying forth, and engaging in a skirmish, as if for mere pastime; but on one occasion "they had rather a bloudy battell than a skirmish," in which "the losse was neere fifteen hundred on both sides." The Christians, however, were soon rëinforced by "nine thousand foot and horse, and six-and-twentie peeces of

ordnance," under Prince Moyses, who at once assumed the chief command. As even this additional strength did not warrant them in attempting to storm the town, they were contented with making immediate preparations for bringing their effective ordnance into play. Presuming that the necessary approaches were made *secundum artem*, it of course required time; nearly a month was spent "in entrenching themselves and raising their mounts to plant their batteries, which slow proceedings the Turks oft derided," at the same time ironically expressing their fears that the besiegers would depart without attempting an assault upon their city. Among other bravadoes, they "sent this challenge to any captaine in the armie:

"That to delight the Ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defie any Captaine, that had the command of a Company, who durst combate with him for his head: The matter being discussed, it was accepted, but so many questions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by lots, which fell upon Captaine Smith, before spoken of.

"Truce being made for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the Christians in Battalio; Turbashaw with a noise of Howboyes entered the field well mounted and armed; on his shoulders were fixed a paire of great wings, compacted of Eagles feathers within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones, a Janizary before him, bearing his Lance, on each side another

leading his horse; where long hee stayed not, ere Smith with a noise of Trumpets, only a page bearing his Lance, passing by him with a courteous salute, tooke his ground with such goode successe, that at the sound of the charge, he passed the Turke thorow the sight of his Beaver, face, head and all, that he fell dead to the ground, where alighting and unbracing his Helmet, cut off his head, and the Turkes tooke his body; and so returned without any hurt at all. The head hee presented to the Lord Moses, the Generall, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole armie he was generally welcomed.

"The death of this Captaine so swelled in the heart of one Grualgo, his vowed friend, as rather inraged with madnesse than choller, he directed a particular challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friends head, or lose his owne, with his horse and Armour for advantage, which according to his desire was the next day undertaken: as before upon the sound of the Trumpets, their Lances flew in peeces upon a cleare passage, but the Turke was neere unhorsed. Their pistolls was the next, which marked Smith upon the placard; but the next shot the Turke was so wounded in the left arme, that being not able to rule his horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground, and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him, with his horse and Armour; but his body and his rich apparell was sent backe to the Towne.

"Every day the Turkes made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they endure to any

purpose. Our workes and approaches being not yet advanced to that height and effect which was of necessitie to be performed; to delude time, Smith with so many incontradictible perswading reasons, obtained leave that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants heads, but if any Turke of their ranke would come to the place of combate to redeeme them, should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could winne it.

"The challenge presently was accepted by Bonny Mulgro. The next day both the Champions entring the field as before, each discharging their Pistoll, having no Lances, but such martiall weapons as the defendant appointed, no hurt was done; their Battle-axes was the next; whose piercing bils made sometime the one, sometime the other to have scarce sense to keepe their saddles, specially the Christian received such a blow that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it, whereat the supposing conquering Turk had a great shout from the Rampiers. The Turk prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power: yet the other, what by the readinesse of his horse, and his judgment and dexterity in such a businesse, beyond all mens expectation, by Gods assistance, not onely avoided the Turkes violence, but having drawne his Faulchion, pierced the Turke so under the Culets thorow back and body, that although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done."

"This good successe gave such great encouragement to the whole Armie, that with a guard of six thousand, three spare horses, before each a Turkes head upon a Lance, he was conducted to the Generalls Pavillion with his Presents.—Moyses received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, and embracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse, richly furnished, a Semitere and belt worth three hundred ducats; and Meldritch made him Sergeant major of his regiment."

To these warlike pastimes succeeded more fierce encounters, in which all the forces of both sides were engaged, and which eventually resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Christians. After sacking several towns, and taking two thousand prisoners, mostly women and children, the army retraced its steps, and encamped at Esenberg. While here, Sigismund visited the encampment, and "was made acquainted with the service Smith had done at Olympagh, Stowle-Wesenburg and Regall, for which with great honour hee gave him three Turkes heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his Picture in Gould, and three hundred Ducats yeerely for a Pension."

CHAPTER IV.

Sigismund withdraws to private life—Transfer of the Army-Revolt of Wallachia—Activity of Smith in the Battles which followed—He is wounded, captured, and sold into Slavery—Kills his Master and Escapes—Diploma of his Title—Visits Africa—Returns to England.

Soon after the events just recorded, Sigismund concluded a peace with the emperor, receiving a magnificent pension in lieu of an independent crown; and retired to Prague, where he afterwards entertained his friends in the character of a private nobleman. The services of his army were transferred to the emperor; and as the transfer was not wholly acceptable to many who had espoused the cause of Sigismund from principle, it was apparent that the only way of securing their fidelity, was by keeping them actively employed. An opportunity to satisfy their restlessness soon occurred; for the inhabitants of Wallachia, (then a province of Turkey,) driven to revolt by the tyranny of Jeremy, their waywode, or governor,* applied to the emperor for assistance, which he very gladly afforded, and conferred the governorship on Lord Rodoll.—The Earl of Meldritch, with an army of thirty thousand men—the *elite* of those troops who had been serving Sigismund—accompanied by Smith and a host of other gallant officers, went to support the claims of the emperor's new waywode.

* This official had been recently appointed in place of Michael, a popular ruler, deceased.

In the mean time, Jeremy had raised an army of forty thousand Tartars, Moldavians, and Turks, to assist in rëestablishing his authority; and with this force he fortified himself in the Plains of Peske, awaiting the arrival of rëinforcements from "the Crym-Tartar." What followed is vividly described in an old book, entitled "*The Warres of Hungaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia,*" written by Francisco Ferneza, "a learned Italian, and the prince's secretarie,—translated by Mr. Purchas." No apology will be required for extracting the details entire, as they afford a better picture of the sanguinary scenes than could be gathered from any modern version:

"Rodoll not knowing how to draw the enemie to battell, raised his Arme, burning and spoyling all where he came, and returned againe towards Rebrinke in the night; as if he had fled upon the generall rumour of the Crym-Tartars coming, which so inflamed the Turkes of a happy victory, they vrged Ieremy against his will to follow them. Rodoll seeing his plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the streights, he put his Army in order, that had beene neere two dayes pursued, with continuall skirmishes in his Reare, which now making head against the enemie, that followed with their whole Armie in the best manner they could, was furiously charged with six thousand Hydukes, Wallachians, and Moldavians, led by three Colonells, Oversall, Dubras, and Caleb, to entertaine the time till the rest came up; Veltus and Nederspolt with their Regiments, entertained

them with the like courage, till the Zanzacke Hamesbeg, with six thousand more, came with a fresh charge, which Meldritch and Budendorfe, rather like enraged lions than men, so bravely encountered, as if in them only had consisted the victory; Meldritchs horse being slaine vnder him, the Turks pressed what they could to have taken him prisoner, but being remounted, it was thought with his owne hand he slew the valiant Zanzacke, whereupon his troopes retyring, the two proud Bashawes, Aladin and Zizimmus, brought up the front of the body of their battell. Veltus and Nederspolt having breathed, and joyning their troopes with Becklefield and Zarvana, with such an incredible courage charged the left flancke of Zizimmus, as put them all in disorder, where Zizimmus the Bashaw was taken prisoner, but died presently upon his wounds. Ieremie seeing now the maine battell of Rodoll advance, being thus constrained, like a valiant Prince in his front of the Vantgard, by his example so brauely encouraged his souldiers, that Rodoll found no great assurance of the victorie. Thus being joyned in this bloudy massacre, that there was scarce ground to stand upon, but upon the dead carkasses, which in lesse than an hower were so mingled, as if each Regiment had singled out other. The admired Aladin that day did leave behinde him a glorious name for his valour, whose death many of his enemies did lament after the victory, which at that instant fell to Rodoll. It was reported Ieremie was also slaine, but it was not so, but fled with the remainder of

his Armie to Moldavia, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the field, of both Armies.— And thus Rodoll was seated againe in his Soueraignty, and Wallachia became subject to the Emperour.

"But long he rested not to settle his new estate, but there came newes that certaine Regiments of stragling Tartars were foraging those parts towards Moldavia. Meldritch with thirteene thousand men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the Crym-Tartar and sonnes, with an Army of thirty thousand; and Ieremie, that had escaped with fourteene or fifteene thousand, lay in ambush for them about Langanaw, he retired towards Rottenton, a strong garrison for Rodoll; but they were so environed with these hellish numbers, they could make no great haste for skirmishing with their scouts, forragers, and small parties that still encountered them. But one night, amongst the rest, having made passage through a wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting trees thwart each other to hinder their passage, in a thicke fogge early in the morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with pillage, and two or three hundred horse and cattell; the most of them were slaine and taken prisoners, who told them where Ieremie lay in the passage, expecting the Crym-Tartar that was not farre from him. Meldritch intending to make his passage perforce, was advised of a pretty stratagem by the English Smith, which presently he thus accomplished; for having accommodated two or three

hundred truncks with wilde fire, vpon the heads of lances, and charging the enemie in the night, gave fire to the truncks, which blazed forth such flames and sparkles, that it so amazed not onely their horses, but their foot also; that by the meanes of this flaming encounter, their owne horses turned tailes with such fury, as by their violence overthrew Ieremy and his Army, without any losse at all to speak of to Meldritch. But of this victory long they triumphed not; for being within three leagues of Rottenton, the Tartar with neere forty thousand so beset them, that they must either fight, or be cut in peeces flying. Here Busca and the Emperour had their desire; for the Sunne no sooner displayed his beames, than the Tartar his colours; where at midday he stayed a while, to see the passage of a tyrannicall and treacherous imposture, till the earth did blush with the bloud of honesty, that the Sunne for shame did hide himselfe, from so monstrous sight of a cowardly calamity. It was a most brave sight to see the banners and ensignes streaming in the aire, the glittering of Armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the forrests of lances, and the thicknesse of shorter weapons, till the silent expedition of the bloudy blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as felt by the aymed at object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

"In the valley of Veristhorne, betwixt the river of Altus and the mountaine of Rottenton, was this bloudy encounter, where the most of the

dearest friends of the noble Prince Sigismundus perished. Meldritch having ordered his eleven thousand in the best manner he could; at the foot of the mountaine upon his flancks, and before his front, he had pitched sharpe stakes, their heads hardened in the fire, and bent against the enemie, as three battalion of Pikes, amongst the which also there was digged many small holes. Amongst those stakes was ranged his footmen, that upon the charge was to retire, as there was occasion. The Tartar having ordered his 40000. for his best advantage, appointed Mustapha Bashaw to beginne the battell, with a generall shout, all their Ensignes displaying, Drummes beating, Trumpets and Howboyes sounding. Nederspolt and Mavazo with their Regiments of horse most valiantly encountered, and forced them to retire; the Tartar Begolgi with his Squadrons, darkening the skies with their flights of numberles arrowes, who was bravely encountred by Veltus and Oberwin, which bloudie slaughter continued more than an houre, till the matchlesse multitude of the Tartars, so increased, that they retired within their Squadrons of stakes as was directed. The bloudy Tartar, as scorning he should stay so long for the victorie, with his massie troopes prosecuted the charge: but it was a wonder to see how horse and man came to the ground among the stakes, whose disordered troopes were so mangled, that the Christians with a loud shout cryed Victoria; and with five or six field peeces, planted vpon the rising of a mountaine, did much hurt to the enemy that still continued the battell

with that furie, that Meldritch, seeing there was no possibilitie to long preuaile, ioyned his small troopes in one body, resolued directly to make his passage or die in the conclusion; and thus in grosse gaue a general charge, and for more than half an houre made his way plaine before him, till the maine battel of the Crym-Tartar with two regiments of Turkes and Ianizaries so overmatched them, that they were overthrowen. The night approaching, the Earle with some thirteene or fourteene hundred horse, swamme the River; some were drowned, all the rest slaine or taken prisoners: And thus in this bloudy field neere 30000. lay, some headlesse, armelesse and leglesse, all cut and mangled; where breathing their last, they gaue this knowledge to the world, that for the liues of so few, the Crym-Tartar neuer paid dearer."

"In this dismall battell," most of the principal officers were slain, together with a large proportion of the foreign adventurers who had gone to the wars "in defence of Christ and his Gospell." Smith perpetuates the names of a few Englishmen, "who did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their bodies in testimonie of their mindes." He was very severely wounded, and lay groaning among the rest, when he was found by some pillagers; who, judging by his armor and habit that "his ransome might be better to them than his death," were at some pains to cure his wounds. When he was sufficiently recovered, he was sent, with many others, to Axiopolis, where "they were all sold for

slaves, like beasts in a market-place." He was purchased by one Bashaw Bogall, who sent him forthwith to Constantinople, as a present to his young mistress, Charatza Tragabigzanda—informing her that he was a Bohemian lord, conquered by his hand. The young lady at once manifested interest enough in her new slave to inquire into the circumstances of his captivity; and when she was made acquainted with the truth—when she was satisfied of the deception that Bogall had attempted—"she tooke much compassion on him. But having no use for him, lest her mother should sell him, she sent him to her brother, the Tymor Bashaw of Nalbrits, in the Countrey of Cambia, a Province in Tartaria." Not satisfied with placing him beyond the danger of being transferred to other owners, "this kinde ladie writ so much for his good usage" that her brother half suspected some latent intentions on her part of eventually forming other relations than those of owner and slave; "for shee told him he should there but sojourne to learne the language, and what it was to be a Turke, till time made her Master of her selfe."

Whatever the lady's plans were, they were sadly frustrated; for her brother, instead of treating Smith with the kindness anticipated, "within an houre after his arrivall, caused his Drub-man to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand. A great ring of iron, with a long stalke bowed like a sickle, was riveted about his necke," and he was then clothed with a coat of coarse hair-cloth, "guarded [girded]

about with a piece of an undrest skinne." It will be readily surmised that the general appearance of his figure was any thing but gratifying to our hero. But the worst has not been told. "There were many more Christian slaves, and neere an hundred of Forsados of Turkes and Moores, and he being the last, was slave of slaves to them all. Among these slavish fortunes there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet for all their paines and labours, no more regarded than a beast."

In the midst of all his sufferings, the thoughts of Smith were frequently turned towards the fair sister of his cruel master. It was her love, of which perhaps he had some indistinct perceptions, that encouraged him to cherish the hope of being delivered from his thraldom; and he concluded of course that she (who "surely was ignorant of his bad usage,") would sooner or later contrive some means for his emancipation. Yet it is pretty evident that he was not inclined to rely solely upon this chance; for he often "debated the matter with some Christians who had been there a long time slaves, and they could not find how to make an escape by any reason or possibility." Whether it was a matter of favor or not, it is hard to say; but we are told that "he became a thresher at a grange in a great field, more than a league from the Tymor's house," where he was often visited by the bashaw. One day—the last of his earthly pilgrimage—his persecutor "tooke occasion so to beat,

spurne, and revile him, that, forgetting all reason, he beat out the Tymor's braines with his thresh-ing-bat, for they have no flailes; and seeing his estate could be no worse than it was, clothed nimself in his clothes, hid his body under the straw, filled his knapsacke with corne, mounted his horse, and ranne into the desart at all adven-ture." Here he wandered about for two or three days, he knew not whither, until "God did direct him to the great way or Castragan, as they call it, which doth crosse these large terri-tories." "In every crossing of this great way is planted a post, and in it so many bobs with broad ends as there be wayes, and every bob the figure painted on it that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the Crym's Country, is marked with a halfe Moone; if towards the Georgians and Persia, a blacke man, full of white spots; if towards China, the picture of the Sunne; if towards Muscovia, the signe of a Crosse; if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his standard is knowne."

The particularity with which the very guide-posts are described, is clear evidence that Smith, although he "travelled in feare and torment," was not, even under such circumstances, heed-less of surrounding objects. He took the road pointed out by the "signe of a crosse," and fol-lowed it for sixteen days, when he arrived at Ecopolis, a Russian garrison on the river Don. The governor, after due examination, "tooke off his irons, and so kindly used him, he thought

himself new risen from death; and the good Lady Callamata largely supplied all his wants."

As this spot possessed no particular attractions to detain him, he embraced the first favorable opportunity of making his way to regions more congenial to his spirit. At his departure he was furnished by the governor with "friendly letters," which secured him a warm welcome and liberal treatment in several provinces through which he passed. "In all his life," he says "he seldom met with more respect, mirth, content and entertainment; and not any governour where he came but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges; seeing themselves as subject to the like calamity."

After as pleasant a journey as could be made in the dreary countries through which he passed, he reached Transylvania, where he "found so many good friends, that, but to see and rejoyce himselfe (after all those encounters) in his native Country, he would ever hardly have left them." Feeling, however, the force of the old saw, "the best of friends must sometimes part," he did not remain long to partake of their hospitalities and bounties, which, judging from the grateful manner they are acknowledged, must have been lavished upon him with no measured hand. Anxiously desiring to greet once more his former companions in arms, he set out for Prague, visiting and examining the principal intermediate places in his route. He was not disappointed in receiving a cordial reception at the place of his destination; for Sigismund, not only

gave him a diploma,* confirming the honors he had formerly conferred, but also presented him fifteen hundred ducats to repair his losses.

* The following is a copy of this curious document, with the certificate of its admission and record in the Herald's College, England:

"SIGISMVNDVS BATHOR, by the Grace of God, Duke of Transilvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, Earle of Anchard, Salford and Growenda; to whom this Writing may come or appeare. Know that We have given leave and licence to Iohn Smith an English Gentleman, Captaine of 250. Souldiers, under the most Generous and Honourable Henry Volda, Earle of Meldritch, Salmaria, and Peldoia, Colonell of a thousand horse, and fifteene hundred foot, in the warres of Hungary, and in the Provinces aforesaid under our authority; whose service doth deserve all praise and perpetuall memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his Country overcome his enemies: Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Armes, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Armes, the figure and description of three Turks heads, which with his sword before the towne of Regall, in single combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of Transilvania. But fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the province of Wallachia, in the yeare of our Lord, 1602. the 18. day of November, with many others, as well Noble men, as also divers other Souldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord Bashaw of Cambia, a Country of Tartaria; whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the helpe and power of Almighty God, that hee delivered himselfe, and returned againe to his company and fellow souldiers, of whom We doe discharge him, and this hee hath in witnesse thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to returne to his owne sweet Country. We desire therefore all our loving and kinde kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earles, Barons, Governours of Townes, Cities, or Ships, in this Kingdome, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let

With such ample means for further indulging his predominant taste, he spent some time in visiting the principal cities of Germany, France and Spain—paying particular attention to the universities, monasteries, fortifications and other objects of literary, religious or scientific interest, which were prominent at that period.

"Being thus satisfied with Europe and Asia," he says, and "understanding of the warres in Barbary," he went from Gibraltar to Tangiers, and thence to Saffy, where he became acquainted with the captain of a French man-of-war, with whom he "went to Morocco, to see the ancient monuments of that renowned citie."

passe this the aforesaid Captaine, without any hinderance or molestation, and this doing, with all kindnesse we are always ready to doe the like for you. Sealed at Lipswick in Misenland, the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord, 1603. "SIGISMVNDVS BATHOR.

"*With the proper privilege of his Majestie.*"

"To all and singular, in what place, state, degree, order, or condition whatsoever, to whom this present writing shall come: I, William Segar, Knight, otherwise Garter, and principall King of Armes of England, wish health. Know that I the aforesaid Garter, do witnesse and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seene, signed, and sealed, under the proper hand and Seale Manual of the said Duke of Transilvania, and a true coppy of the same, as a thing for perpetuall memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the Register and office of the Heralds of Armes. Dated at London the nineteenth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1625. and in the first yeare of our Soueraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God, King of great Britaine, France, and Ireland; Defender of the faith, &c.

"WILLIAM SEGAR."

Here the king's palace, which was "like a citie of itselfe," and the Christian church, attracted his especial attention. After noticing a great brouch of iron on the flat square steeple of the latter, "whereon is placed the three golden balls of Africa," he informs us that "against those golden balls hath been shot many a shot, (their weight is recorded 700 weight of pure gold, hollow within,) yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any conspirator attaine that honor as to get them downe." The universities which once flourished, and sent forth famous men, were then "but stables for fowles and beasts, and the houses in most parts lay tumbled one above another." He was told "strange tales of a great garden, wherein were all sorts of birds, fishes, beasts, fruits, and fountaines, which, for beauty, art, and pleasure, exceeded any place known in the world, though now nothing but dung-hills, pigeon-houses, shrubs and bushes." Many remains of magnificent temples, towers, ports, and fountains—the evidences of former greatness and prosperity—were then only regarded as the "reliques of lamentable ruines and sad desolation."

The cause of those "brawles and warres" with which the country was then distracted, was a struggle for the absolute sovereignty of the empire, suddenly vacated by the violent death of Muley Hamet, who had been poisoned by one of his numerous wives, in the hope of establishing her favorite son, Muley Sidan, upon the throne. This case of poisoning was one of those whole-

sale murders which in this "enlightened nineteenth century," and in this section of the world would be denounced as the result of "*Awful Human Depravity*," or as an "*Unparalleled and Inhuman Butchery!*" but in Morocco, they had not arrived at that degree of refinement which led the people to attach any high moral responsibility to the perpetrators of such an act, especially if they successfully accomplished the object of their ambition. The emperor was not the only victim sacrificed by his wicked "empresse, more cruel than any beast in Africa: * * * her own daughter, Muley Shecke (his eldest sonne, borne of a Portugall Ladie) and his daughter," were all cut off at "one fell swoop," and that, too, at the instigation of "a *saint* that started up, but he played the Devill!" Another son of Hamet, however, Muley Besseres, upset the plans of this saint-devil and his adherents for a time, by taking possession of Morocco and all his father's treasure; but Muley Sidan afterwards succeeded in raising an army, which he brought against his brother, and took him prisoner. At this crisis of affairs, Smith, becoming disgusted with "the perfidious, treacherous, bloudy murthers rather than warre, among those perfidious, barbarous Moores;" concluded to embark again with his French captain (Merham) for Saffy, "to try some other conclusions at sea."

While Merham was lying in the roads, he invited Smith and two or three more guests "aboard with him, where he spared not any

thing he had to expresse his kindnesse to bid them welcome;" or, in more modern parlance, these boon companions had such a jolly good time, and the hours fled so merrily and rapidly unawares, that it was at last found too late to return to their inns, and "necessitie constrained them to stay aboard. A fairer evening could not be, yet ere midnight such a storm did arise, they were forced to let slip cable and anchor, and put to sea; spooning before the wind till they were driven to the Canaries. In the calmes they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event;" nor were they disappointed; for, not long after, they took a small bark from Teneriffe, laden with wine. After cruising about here for awhile, capturing several other vessels, in which they found but little, they again stood for the African shore, "betwixt which and Cape Noa they descried two saile. Merham, intending to know what they were, hailed them; very civilly they daused their topsailes, and desired the man of warre to come aboard them, and take what he would, for they were but two poor distressed Bickiners. But Merham, the old fox, seeing himselfe in the lion's pawes, sprung his loufe; the other tacked after him, and came close up to his nether quarter, gave his broad-side, and so loufed up to windward; the Vice-Admirall did the like, and at the next bout the Admirall, with a noise of trumpets, and all his ordnance, murtherers, and muskets, boorded him on his broad-side; the other in like manner on his lee

quarter." The Spaniards were so warmly received that they made but a short stay, preferring gun range to close quarters, and leaving "four or five of his men sprawling over the grating. After they had battered Merham about an houre, they boorded him againe as before, and threw four kedgers or grapnalls in iron chains; then sheering off, they thought so to have torne downe the grating; but the Admirall's yard was so intangled in their shrouds, Merham had time to discharge two cross-bar shots amongst them, and divers bolts of iron made for that purpose against his bow, that made such a breach, he feared they both should have sunke for company; so that the Spaniard was as yare [ready] in shipping his chained grapnalls, as Merham was in cutting the tackling [which] kept fast their yards in his shrouds." Again clearing themselves, "the vice-admirall spared neither his ordnance nor muskets to keepe Merham from getting away till the admirall had repaired his leake. From twelve at noone till six at night they thus interchanged one volley for another; when the vice-admirall fell astern, staying for the admirall that came up againe to him." Merham, finding little chance of gaining any thing but hard knocks, hauled off, and shaped his course for Mamora, but made such small progress, that the next morning he found himself not three leagues from Cape Noa, and "the two Spanish men of warre (for such they were, and well appointed,)" close upon him. They renewed the action by giving him "broad-side

and sterne, the one after the other, within musket shot, plying their ordnance; and, after an houre's worke, commanded Merham a maine [prize] for the King of Spain upon faire quarter. Merham dranke to them, and so discharged his quarter peeces." This was certainly cool, and not at all relished by the Spaniards, who determined once more to try their hand at boarding. * * * "Many of them were got to the top to unsling the maine saile, which the Master and some others from the round-house caused to their cost to come tumbling downe;" a portion of the boarders were forced to the great cabin, which was soon after blown up, and the "smoke and fire was so vehement," that the ship was supposed to be on fire; the forecastle was also blown up, "with a peece of the grating," making sad havoc among the Spaniards, who were glad to leave in double quick-time. Merham, perceiving that the fire was making rapid headway, for a brief space turned all his attention to subduing this new enemy. By means of "wet clothes and water" covering the open places with old sails and similar appliances, danger was soon overcome, and the vessel again in fighting trim —"prepared to fight to the last man." Merham not only succeeded in quenching the flames in his own ship, but the valor of the Spaniards also; for they "hung out a flagge of truce to have a parley; but the Frenchman, knowing "there was but one way with him," let them have "the report of his ordnance, which he did well know how to use for his best advantage. Thus they

spent the next afternoone and halfe that night, when the Spaniards either lost them or left them. Seven-and-twentie men Merham had slaine, and sixteene wounded, and could finde they had received 140 great shot. A wounded Spanyard they had kept alive confessed they had lost 100 men in the Admirall, which they did feare would sink ere they could recover a port."

It would be absurd to suppose that Smith was a mere looker-on in this long-protracted and sanguinary struggle, although his modesty did not allow him to chronicle any achievement of his own hand. Merham and himself were so much alike in spirit, that it is very reasonable to infer that either would have readily and ably seconded the other in any affair of this kind, even for the *fun* of it, if nothing else. After returning to Saffy, Smith took leave of his "gallant French captaine," and made the best of his way to England, reaching that country some time in the year 1604.

In all the varied scenes through which he passed, the active mind of Smith was ever on the alert. No object of interest escaped his notice; and the stores of useful knowledge he was constantly accumulating, he was always ready to dispense to others less fortunate than himself. Selfishness formed but a very small portion of his composition; and, as a general principle, in whatever enterprise he engaged, he was prompted by some higher motive than merely personal advantage. To "see the world," and inform himself of the actual condition of "nations

beyond sea," was probably his "ruling passion;" and while indulging in this species of errantry for the laudable purpose of improving himself, he was likewise emulous that others should reap the benefits of his experience. Even while in slavery among the Tartars, he was apparently as much occupied in observing the manners, customs, and institutions of that rude people, as he was in meditating plans for his escape. This is manifest from the minuteness with which he describes their towns, cities, dress, religions, entertainments, laws, and such-like matters; and the memorials he has left will enable any one to form a pretty correct estimate of the country and its inhabitants. Although smarting under the cruel wrongs of slavery, he was too magnanimous to withhold a passing tribute to whatever matter he regarded as worthy of commendation. Their mode of administering justice is mentioned with peculiar favor, and might be advantageously imitated by those claiming a higher rank in the scale of humanity. "The glorious uncertainty of the law" is not a recognized axiom among the Tartars; but, on the contrary, we are told that "justice is with such integrity and expedition executed—without covetousnesse, bribery, partiality, and brawling—that in six months the judges have scarce six causes to heare." Without, perhaps, intending to do so, he fully accounts for this blessed and blessing jurisprudence, by further informing us that they have no "lawyers nor attournies" among them!

While in Barbary he gathered much informa-

tion that must have been of peculiar value in his day, and which he interspersed with many amusing and instructive anecdotes, calculated to interest all classes of readers. In Morocco, he met with an Englishman named Henry Archer, a watch-maker, who had been induced to settle in that city by the liberality of Muley Hamet.* This Archer enjoyed immunities not conceded to any other individual, yet, John Bull like, being a great stickler for his *rights*, he sometimes created a deal of useless trouble in maintaining them. On one occasion, while walking from the Alfantica to the Juderea, "the way being verie foule, he met a great Priest, or a *Sante*, (as they call all great clergy-men) who would have thrust him into the durt for the way; but Archer, not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the eare. Presently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and his hand cut off; but no sooner was it knowen at the King's court, but 300 of his guard came, broke open the prison, and delivered him, although the fact was next degree to treason."

Another story is told of this Archer, developing some facts which are interesting, in connection with natural history: "Not far from Mount

* "Muley Hamet was not blacke, as many suppose, but molato, or tawnie, as are the most of his subjects—everie way noble, kinde, and friendly, verie rich and pompous in state and majesty." He "delighted so much in the reformation of workmanship," that he "entertained from England gold-smiths, plummers, carvers and polishers of stone, and watch-makers."

Atlas, a great lioness in the heat of the day was wont to bathe herself, and teach her young puppies to swim, in the river Cauzeff, of a goodly breadth." She would frequently carry them one after another over the river; which some Moors perceiving, watched their opportunity, and when the river was between her and them, stole four of her whelps. On perceiving this, with all possible speed she rēcrossed the river, and hastened in pursuit. When almost up with the Moors, they dropped one of the whelps, which she took up in her mouth, and returned to those she had left. A male and female of the captured three were given to Archer, who kept them in the king's garden till the male killed the female. The surviving one he "brought up as a puppy-dog," allowing it to lie upon his bed, till it grew to the size of a mastiff, and no dog could be more tame or gentle to those he knew. While on his return to England, Archer met a merchant of Marseilles at Saffy, to whom he presented his uncouth pet; the merchant, on reaching home, gave it to the French king; and he, wishing to ingratiate himself with King James, sent it to England as a present to that monarch. Of course, it was accepted, and placed in the royal menagerie. Seven years afterwards, one "Mr. John Bull," who had formerly been a servant of Archer's, in company with some friends, went to see the lions in the Tower, not having the most remote idea of meeting an old playmate: "yet this rare beast smelled him before he saw him—whining, groaning, and tumbling, with such an expression

of acquaintance," that, being informed by the keepers how he came thither, Bull at once sought permission to enter the cage. This being granted, he went in, and "no dog could fawn more on his master than the lion did on him—licking his feet, hands, and face—skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders."—Being satisfied with his interview, Bull made shift to get out of the cage, and took rather an abrupt leave of his old companion. "When the lion saw his friend gone, no beast—by bellowing, roaring, scratching, and howling—could express more rage and sorrow, nor in foure days after would he either eat or drink."

CHAPTER V.

American Settlements in Embryo—Smith and Gosnold plan an Expedition—Company Formed, and Letters Patent granted—Newport selected to command the Vessels—The Colonists leave England—Early Dissensions—Smith made a Prisoner—Arrival—Landing—The Council—James River—Explorations—Natives—Site for the Town.

For a long time previous to Smith's arrival in England, the public mind had been strongly directed to the subject of colonizing the western world. Already many enterprises had been projected, but none had met with a success at all commensurate with the expectations of the people. Sir Walter Raleigh, among others, had spent immense sums in endeavors to found colonies; yet, owing, as was supposed, to the mis-

management of the colonists themselves, all his attempts had proved futile. In 1602, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold had made a prosperous voyage to New England,* and on his return had given so favorable an account of the fertility of the country and the salubrity of the climate, that a lively anxiety was awakened for its colonization. Smith and Gosnold soon became acquainted, and the former at once entered into the plan of trying his fortune in this new field of adventure. "Certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants" were induced to become interested in the scheme, and prevailed upon King James I., in April, 1606, to issue letters patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluyt, and their associates, granting them all that territory lying on the sea-coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. Two companies were formed —one composed mostly of London adventurers, and the other of gentlemen from the West of England—and to the first was assigned the southern portion of the grant, and to the latter the northern. It was provided in the patent that the general direction should be vested in a council resident in England, to be nominated by the crown, while the local government should be confided to a colonial council, also appointed by the crown, who were to carry out such royal instructions and ordinances as might from time

* It may not be amiss to state that the whole coast, southern as well as northern, was then designated as New England.

to time be promulgated. With a littleness characteristic of that jealous and bigoted monarch, King James further insisted upon a proviso that at least an hundred miles should intervene between their respective settlements.

Nearly a year was spent in gathering colonists and in providing three vessels for the expedition. In these days of leviathan proportions, an incredulous smile may be excited by the statement that, of the craft employed, one was a ship of one hundred tons; another of forty, and a third (pinnace) of twenty. "The transportation of the company was committed to Captain Christopher Newport, a Marriner well practised for Westerne parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours known, untill they arrived in Virginia."*

On the 19th of December, 1606, all things being in readiness, the anchors were weighed, the sails spread, and many eyes turned towards England, gazing on "the white cliffs of Albion" (as their owners thought) for the last time; but the elements were against them; for six weeks they were baffled by contrary winds, which so far impeded their progress, that they were on the

* The absurd "mysterious secrecy" with which King James sought to invest every thing that he took any part in, is sufficiently illustrated by this one ridiculous act. Had the individuals constituting the council been known previously to the sailing of the expedition, no doubt much of the ill-feeling and dissension which occurred during the voyage, and which led to irreparable injury afterwards, might have been avoided.

point of returning, when a favoring breeze sprung up, and the little fleet, big with the future greatness of America, speeded on its destination.—Partly because they knew of no better, and partly because others had "gone that way before them," they took the circuitous route *via.* the Canary islands, where they stopped for the purpose of watering, and turning an honest penny in trade with the natives.

While "Young America"* was yet weather-bound on the English coast, frequent dissensions occurred among the leaders, which were the source of much trouble and bitterness. The Rev. Mr. Hunt, although suffering severely from sickness, interposed his friendly offices occasionally, and endeavored to reconcile the discontented; but his services, so far from being properly appreciated, gave rise to "the most scandalous imputations" from those of the "greatest ranke," who were "little better than atheists." Smith not only contended manfully for his own rights, but also became a champion for the reverned gentleman—a course which operated unfavorably for his personal advantage, for a time at least.

When arrived at the Canaries, the discordant

* A portion of those embarked in this expedition, who constituted the early settlers of Virginia, were far better entitled to this appellation, than the selfish and aspiring knot of political demagogues to whom modern usage has applied it, or than the whole "length and breadth of our domain, reaching from the Atlantic to the Specific ocean," as Davy Crockett was wont classically to express it.

elements, which had been so long partially smothered, burst out into an almost uncontrollable flame. Smith was accused by Wingfield and others of the most unreasonable plots of treason —of meditating the massacre of the principal colonists—and "divers other foule and bloudy conclusions," which had no other foundations than in their own vile and envious conceits, although they pretended that their charges could be substantiated by the testimony of some who had agreed to assist Smith in his alleged designs. He was made a prisoner at once, and held in durance during the remainder of the voyage.

Making but a short stay at the Canaries, they next steered for the West Indies, where three weeks were spent in refreshing themselves, and in bartering beads and baubles for native productions. While tarrying in these pleasant regions, some of the *voyageurs* visited "Gwardalupa," and were not a little astonished by the discovery of "a bath so hot, that in it they boyled porck as well as over a fire." The lovers of *game*, too, must have had a glorious feast; for we are told that "at a little isle called Monica, we took from the bushes with our hands neare two hogsheads full of birds in three or foure houres." But this was not their only feast: in the Virgin and other isles they also "spent some time, where with a lothsome beast like a crocodile, called a gwayn, tortoises, pellicans, parrots, and fishes," they "daily feasted."

Being thoroughly refitted, and all hands materially refreshed, the expedition proceeded for

its final destination. By some untoward means they got off the track, and were "not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had three dayes passed their reckoning and found no land; so that Captaine Ratcliffe (captaine of the pinnace) rather desired to beare up the helme to returne for England, than make further search." But fortunately the other captains were not so easily disheartened, or, if they were, they had hardly time to make it manifest; for a sudden and severe storm coming up, they were compelled "to hull all night," during which time they were driven "to their desired port, beyond all their expectations."*

The first land they made, which was on the 26th of April, 1607, they called Cape Henry, where (having entered Chesapeake Bay) thirty of them, while enjoying a visit on shore, were assaulted by the savages, who hurt two of them very dangerously.† That night the box was opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall were named to be the council, and to choose a president among

* The old chronicler is here a "little out in his reckoning" also: Roanoke was their "desired port," but fortunately the storm carried them to a much better place.

† One of the first incidents that attracted the attention of those who landed, was the sight of some savages, "creeping on all foures from the hils like Beares;" and although they took to their heels on hearing the reports of the English muskets, the abrupt interview was not likely to make a very favorable impression upon either party.

them for a year, who with the council should govern. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the council, in which the president had two voices.

From the day of their arrival until the 13th of May, the time was principally occupied in seeking out a suitable location for their settlement. This was of course a matter of no small anxiety, and that anxiety was not lessened by the hostile demonstrations which had already been made by the Indians. While "prospecting" the shores of Chesapeake Bay, they came to anchor near the northern point at its entrance, upon which they bestowed the name of "Point Comfort," on account of the comfort experienced from its good anchorage. Here a large party went on shore, and met with five natives, who were at first inclined to flee from them; but when they saw the captain place his hand on his heart, they ventured to approach, and invited him to visit their town (Kecoughtan). None of the party had reason to regret this visit: they were hospitably received by the whole tribe, who expressed their welcome by a dance, and liberally supplied them with corn-bread, tobacco and pipes, and such other commodities as were at their disposal. Four days afterwards, they were kindly entertained by the chief of the Pashiphay tribe, and received an invitation from the chief of the Rappahannas to come and visit him. He sent them a messenger to guide them to his habitation, and stood on the banks of the river to meet them as they landed, "with all his train," (says the

writer,) "as goodly men as any I have seen of savages or Christians—the werowance [or chief] coming before them, playing on a flute made of a reed, with a crown of deer's hair, colored red, in fashion of a rose, fastened about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers in fashion of a pair of horns placed in the midst of his crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck; his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought; his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl, and in either ear, a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a prince of civil government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behavior. He caused his mat to be spread on the ground, where he sat down with a great majesty, taking a pipe of tobacco, the rest of his company standing about him, After he had rested awhile, he rose, and made signs to us to come to his town. He went foremost, and all the rest of his people and ourselves followed him up a steep hill, where his place was settled. We passed through the woods in fine paths, having most pleasant springs which issued from the mountains. We also went through the goodliest cornfields that ever were seen in any country. When we came to Rappahanna town, he entertained us in good humanity."*

* For a sketch of the incidents which occurred while the settlers were seeking a spot adapted to their purpose, the

Further up the river, on the 8th of May, they were met by a large body of Indians, of the tribe of Apamatica, armed "with bows and arrows in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs beset with sharp stones and pieces of iron, able to cleave a man in sunder;" but their signs of peace being comprehended, they were not molested.

After sailing up James River about forty miles, passing "through excellent ground, full of flowers of divers kindes and colors," they took possession of a peninsula on the northern bank, which was fixed upon as the most eligible site for their projected town, and in honor of the king it was called Jamestown. All were in ecstacies with the surrounding country, and at first lavished their praises upon it without stint.—Smith thought that "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation." The water, too, came in for its equal share of admiration; and it was regarded as a matter of no small consequence to their chosen locality "that their ship could be in six fathoms of water, and be moored to the trees on the land."

world is indebted to "Mr. George Percy, of the ancient family of the Percies, so renowned in story, and brother to the earl of Northumberland." He is said to have been a gentleman of great honor, courage, and industry; and seems to have accompanied the expedition merely as a volunteer, bearing "no post or office of government, which might perhaps have proceeded from the cloud under which his brother the earl then lay"—he being imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of treason.

CHAPTER VI.

The Council sworn, and Smith excluded—Wingfield elected President—Magnanimity of Smith—Remarks on the Position and Character of the Colonists—Busy Scenes of clearing away the Forest, devising a Fort, and building Habitations—Smith's Surveying Expedition—Number of Tribes ascertained—Courteous Reception by Powhatan—Jamestown attacked, and the Enemy repulsed.

The next business in order was the swearing in of the council and the election of a president. Wingfield was chosen to preside, and "an oration was made," setting forth divers reasons why Smith should not be sworn in with the others. What those reasons were, is not now satisfactorily known; but it was probably urged that he was still under the charges which had been preferred against him, and of course not eligible to a seat. However unjust and illegal the conduct of the majority may have been, Smith seems to have acquiesced in their proceedings; which in fact afforded him an excellent opportunity of exhibiting his superiority over those who were endeavoring to injure him. Instead of retaliating upon his enemies, or withholding that efficient aid which he was so capable of affording, he unhesitatingly put forth his best abilities in the service of the colony.

Of the auspices under which the colony commenced, the writer once heard the Rev. Mr. Hale, of Worcester give a very happy illustration, while urging upon his hearers the

obligation of each member of a community to discharge his or her share of the general burdens. "Here were now gathered," said he, "a set of colonists amply sufficient for what they had to do. Climate, not severe; soil, rich; natives, at the outset, not unfriendly. These men were sent out by a company who bore the charge of their expedition. They had two things to do: First, to make themselves comfortable in their new home; second, to make some return to those who sent them there.—Now, of that body only a small minority did any thing at all. The rest had to eat: but, still, they would not till the ground. They had to treat with the Indians, but, still, they would not go to see them—they left it to a small minority of working-men to care for these things. And one man, the celebrated Captain Smith, did care for them, and so saved them all. He put heart into the workers, and showed them how to work; he dealt with the savages, and inspired them with fear. At the risk of his own life, he made the treaties, and obtained the stores from them which saved the infant colony. He was foreman, general, ambassador and governor-in-chief of the farms and of the buildings—and they compelled him to be. Whenever he left them, they left work, quarreled, and starved. When he came back from an absence, he always found the whole colony at swords' points, and all its work at a stand; and so he saved them—in spite of themselves, from themselves—till, overworked and broken down, he had to retire to England, their

old home.—Now, in that true history, we say, without hesitation, that those shiftless colonists were false traitors: they were false to themselves, and false to the company who sent them; especially were they false to the great man whose life they took by inches, in heaping on him all this varied duty.—And we do not change that judgment even if it appear that they had never made a precise contract to do any one of the things which he did. We need not prove that each of them had promised, before hand, to render the precise service in which he failed. The law of strict justice says 'He has taken the stores and opportunities which the company provided;' he has assumed the benefit also of the relief which this great commander has afforded; he is bound, then, to do his part to make the company a recompense, and to help the others round him to live. Else is he false, under the general principles of justice, to the company; under the same principle is he false to the leader whom he leaves alone to serve him; and so, under the same principle, is he false to himself."

At first, it being a novelty with many of the settlers, every man set to work, and contributed something towards accomplishing the purpose which all had in view. Trees were felled, the grounds were cleared, and materials for building were obtained by slow degrees. A fort was contrived by the council, but it was nearly valueless; for Wingfield's ridiculous obstinacy would not allow it to be palisadoed or mounted with ordinance; and therefore it was little more than

the boughs of trees, thrown together in a semi-circular form. Some were employed in making gardens and nets, some in getting clapboards to rēlade the ships, and some in providing other necessaries and conveniences.

While matters were thus progressing on land, Smith was braving dangers and difficulties on the water. In company with Newport and twelve men, he embarked on a voyage of survey up the James River, which was of great and immediate importance. He ascertained that of "forty-three native tribes, dwelling between the mountains and the sea, about thirty, numbering eight thousand souls, were under the rule of a powerful chieftain, named Wahunsonacock, but whose customary title (derived, like that of a European grandee, from his principal residence) was Powhatan. The names of Tuscaloosa, Quigaltanqui, and those of many other native American chiefs, identical with their towns or principalities, indicate the prevalence of the usage. His residence of Powhatan was at the Falls of James River, at the site of the present city of Richmond, and that of Werowocomoco on the north side of York River. Ascending the first-named stream, after a voyage of six days, the explorers came to the Falls, where they were courteously received by the great chief just mentioned."*

On returning to Jamestown, Smith and his surveying pærty soon learned that the place had been unexpectedly attacked by the Indians, who wounded seventeen men and killed one boy.—

* People's Book of History.

During the struggle, a cross-bar shot from one of the ships happened to strike off a large bough from a tree, which so frightened the assailants, that they made a precipitate retreat. But for this circumstance, the English would probably have been extirpated, as they were securely at work, and their arms in dry vats. After this, the president permitted the fort to be palisadoed, the ordinance to be mounted, and the men to be armed and exercised; for many and sudden were the assaults and ambuscades of the Indians; and the English, by their disorderly straggling, were often hurt, while they, by the nimbleness of their heels, escaped."

CHAPTER VII.

Smith demands a Trial: Honorable Results—Newport sails for England—Scarcity of Provisions, and Sickness—Injustice of Wingfield, who is deposed, and Ratcliffe elected in his place—Smith's Diligence in providing for the Settlers: His Explorations and Discoveries—Conspiracy of Wingfield and Kendall defeated—Encounter with Opechancanough—Exploits and Capture of Smith: his Remarkable Adventures among the Savages: their Wonder excited by his Feats of "Sorcery"—Jamestown saved through his Efforts—The Indian's Idea of Gunpowder—Powhatan dooms Smith to Death—Pocahontas saves his Life—Curious Attempt to Frighten Smith: his Return to Jamestown.

"ALTHOUGH Captain Newport was named of the council, yet was he only hired for their transportation, and was to return with the ships. The time of his departure approaching, Captain Smith's enemies pretended, out of tenderness

and compassion to him, to refer him to the council in England, to receive a reprimand, rather than by pushing on their accusation, to endanger his life, or utterly destroy his reputation. But he, being a man of high spirit, and conscious of his innocence, scorned their charity and defied their malice; and behaved himself in the whole affair with such clearness and prudence, that all the company perceived his integrity, and their envy and injustice. Insisting therefore upon his trial, the persons suborned to accuse him, accused their suborners; and although many falsehoods were alleged against him, yet were they all so plainly disproved, that it raised a general resentment in the hearts of the audience against such unjust commanders, and the president was condemned to pay him two hundred pounds, in reparation of the injury. In consequence hereof, all the president's effects were seized in part of satisfaction; but Smith generously presented them to the public store for the use of the colony. Soon after, their heats and animosities were appeased by the good doctrine and exhortations of Mr. Hunt, who procured Captain Smith to be admitted of the council; and the next day, they all received the communion, in confirmation of their peace and concord. The day after, being the 15th of June, 1607, the Indians voluntarily sued for peace, and Captain Newport set sail for England, leaving an hundred persons behind him in Virginia.

"The colony being now left to their fortunes, fell into such a violent sickness, that within ten

days scarce ten among them could either go or stand. This was chiefly owing to the difference of their diet. For whilst the ships staid, either by way of traffic, or for money, or love, they got a daily proportion of biscuit and other provisions from the sailors, who always abounded even to luxury and profusion. But now they were all reduced to the common kettle; which contained the allowance of half a pint of wheat, and as much barley, boiled with water, for a man a day. And this, having funked for six and twenty weeks in the ship's hold, contained nothing substantial, being only bran, with as many worms as grains. The council in England, but especially Sir Thomas Smith, their treasurer, were justly charged with much cruelty and inhumanity for these scanty and ill-conditioned provisions; which management, however, continued, more or less, the whole time of that gentleman's administration of the affairs of the company and colony. This unwholesome food, together with their continual toil and labor in the extremity of the heat, carried off fifty of the company by September; in which number was Captain Gosnold, the first mover and projector of the whole business. The rest that survived by the care of Captain Smith, and the skill and diligence of Mr. Thomas Wotton, their surgeon-general, subsisted on crabs and sturgeon till September.

"But the president, all this while, had felt neither want nor sickness. For he had embezzled the public oatmeal, sack, aquæ vitæ, beef, and eggs, and had lived in great plenty and elegance.

Soon after, having projected an escape to England in the bark, it raised such indignation in the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Captain John Ratcliffe in his room. Kendall was likewise at the same time disgraced, and removed from the council, for being concerned in these male-practices of the president. And now, when all their provisions were spent, the sturgeon gone, and no prospect of relief from any quarter left, God wrought so wonderful a change in the hearts of the Indians, that they brought such plenty of their fruits and provisions, as no man wanted.

"Newport was gone, Gosnold dead, and Wingfield and Kendall in disgrace; neither were their places supplied by the election of any others, according to the authority given. So that the whole government and power of the council now rested in the new president, Martin, and Smith. But the president and Martin, being little esteemed or beloved, of weak judgment in dangers, and less industry in peace, at first very candidly and wisely permitted every thing to Smith's management, who was peculiarly fitted for conducting such an enterprise, by a good judgment, undaunted courage, and an invincible industry and resolution. He immediately set about the building of Jamestown; and by good words, fair promises, and his own example (himself always bearing the greatest share of the labor and fatigue) he pusned on the work with such vigor and diligence, that he had, in a short time, provided most of them with lodgings, neglecting

any for himself. After which, finding the Autumn superfluity of the savages begin to decrease, he resolved to search the country for trade. The want of the language and a sufficient power, with clothing for his men and other necessaries, were infinite impediments to this design, but no discouragement to his bold and adventurous spirit. For with five or six more, he went down the river in a shallop, to Kicquotan; where at first they scorned them, as poor famished creatures, and would offer, in derision, a handful of corn, or a piece of bread, for their swords, muskets, or clothes. But Smith, finding that nothing was to be had by trade and courtesy, ventured to exceed his commission, and entered upon such measures as necessity and the exigency of his case required. And therefore, having discharged his muskets among them, he ran his boat ashore; at which the Indians all fled into the woods. Then marching up to their houses, they saw great heaps of corn. But Smith with much ado restrained his hungry soldiers from immediately seizing it; expecting the savages would return to assault them, as it soon after happened. For sixty or seventy of them, some painted black, some red, some white, and some party-colored, issued out of the woods, singing and dancing, and making a most hideous noise, with their *Okée* borne before them. This was an idol made of skins, stuffed with moss, and all painted and hung with chains and copper. For there was no place in Virginia found so barbarous and void of humanity, in which they had not a religion,

deer, bows, and arrows. In this savage manner, being armed with clubs, targets, bows, and arrows, they charged the English, who received them so warmly with a second volley of muskets, loaded with pistol shot, that down fell their god, and several of them lay sprawling on the ground. The rest fled again into the woods, and soon after sent one of their priests to redeem their god and offer peace. Smith told him, if only six would come unarmed, and load his boat with corn, he would not only restore their *Okée*, but would be their friend, and give them beads, copper, and hatchets besides; which was agreed to, and performed to the satisfaction of both parties. And then they brought him venison, turkies, wild fowl, bread, and whatever else they had, singing and dancing in sign of friendship, till he departed. And on his return up the river, he discovered the town and country of Warrasqueake.

"After his return to Jamestown, he made several journies by land, and discovered the people of Chickahominy. In one of these, Wingfield and Kendall, seeing all things at random in Smith's absence, and the company's scorn of the president's weakness and Martin's never-mending sickness, took advantage of the occasion, and combined with the sailors and others to regain their former authority, or at least to seize the bark which Smith had fitted for a trading voyage, and in her to escape and go for England. But Smith returning unexpectedly, with much difficulty prevented their design. For he was

obliged to turn the cannon of the fort upon them, and so force them to stay or sink in the river; which action cost the life of Captain Kendall. And not long after their new president, Ratcliffe, and Captain Gabriel Archer intended to abandon the country; but their project was likewise restrained and suppressed by Smith. The Spaniards were never more greedy of gold, than he was of provisions; neither did the rest desire more eagerly to abandon the country, than he to keep it. And therefore, having found plenty of corn up the River Chickahominy, he went a trading voyage thither, and was received by hundreds of Indians, who stood in divers places with baskets, expecting his coming. And now the winter likewise coming on, the rivers were so covered with swans, geese, and ducks, that they daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and passimmons, and with fish, fowl, and divers sorts of wild beasts, as fat as they could well eat them. So that none of their humoursome and tuftaffety sparks (as Smith calls them) were any longer discontented, or desirous to go to England.

"But Captain Smith's activity and industry, in discovering the country, and providing for the colony, could not screen him from the vain exceptions and murmurs of many idlers at Jamestown. He was censured by some, and even taxed by the council, of being too remiss and negligent in discovering the head of Chickahominy river. And therefore soon after, with much labor in cutting away trees and clearing a pass-

age, he went up as far as his barge could pass; and then leaving her in a broad bay, beyond the reach of the Indians' shot, he himself, with two English more, and two Indians, proceeded higher up in a canoe. When he left the barge, he ordered that none should go ashore till his return. But he was not long gone, before his disorderly and ungovernable crew disobeyed this command, and thereby gave the Indians an opportunity of surprising one George Cassen; and indeed narrowly escaped being all cut off to a man. For Opechancanough, brother to Powhatan, and king of Pamunkey, a subtle and savage barbarian, was there with three hundred bowmen. And after having extorted from Cassen which way his captain was gone, he put him to death in a most cruel and barbarous manner, and then went in pursuit of Smith.

"Captain Smith had got up twenty miles higher, among the swamps and marshes at the head of the river; and leaving the canoe to the care of Robinson and Emry, his two men, he himself was gone to kill some provisions. Opechancanough first happened on the two men, asleep, as it was supposed, by the fire; and shooting them full of arrows, slew them. And then they traced the captain; who, finding himself beset, bound an Indian, whom he had for his guide, to his arm for a buckler, and received their attack so smartly with his fire-arms, that he soon laid three dead upon the spot, and so wounded and galled divers others, that none of them cared to approach him. He himself re-

ceived a slight wound in the thigh, and had many arrows sticking in his clothes, but without any great hurt. Having the Indians thus at bay, he endeavored to sheer off to his canoe; but regarding them, as he went, more than his way, he suddenly slipped up to his middle into an oozy creek. Although he was thus hampered, yet none of them durst come near him, till, being almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms and surrendered. Then drawing him out, they carried him to the fire where his men were slain, and carefully chafed his benumbed limbs. For this winter, 1607, was extremely cold in Virginia, as it was likewise remarkable for an extraordinary frost in Europe.

"When Smith was a little recovered, he asked for their captain, and being shown Opechancanough, he presented him with a round ivory double compass dial. They wondered greatly at the playing of the fly and needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch, because of the glass that covered them. But when he explained by it the roundness of the earth, the skies, the sphere of the sun, moon, and stars, with other surprising and unheard-of doctrines to them, they all stood amazed. Yet within an hour after, they tied him to a tree, and drew up in order to shoot him. But the king holding up the compass in his hand, they all laid down their arms at once. And then, with much triumph, and in martial order, they conducted him to Orapakes, which was a hunting town and seat, lying on the upper part of Chickahominy swamp,

on the north side, belonging to, and much frequented by, Powhatan and the imperial family, on account of the abundance of game it afforded. In their march, they drew themselves all up in file; and Opechancanough being in the midst, had the English swords and muskets carried before him. Captain Smith came next, led by three great savages, holding him fast by each arm; and on either side went six in file, with their arrows notched. When they arrived at the town, the women and children stood staring at a human creature, so unlike whatever they had before seen; and the soldiers that had taken him, performed their military exercise, throwing themselves with great dexterity into their war-dance, with strange distortions and antic postures, singing and yelling out frightful and inharmonious notes and screeches. But they treated Smith here very kindly, and feasted him with that formality and abundance, that he suspected they intended to fatten and to eat him. In the midst of these melancholy thoughts and surmises, one of them, in return for some beads and toys, which Smith had given him at his first arrival, brought him his gown; which was of singular service to him, and a very seasonable defence against the excessive coldness of the season.

"But whilst his mind was thus taken up with imaginary deaths, he had like to have met a real one. For a man came violently upon him, and would have slain him for the death of his son, had he not been prevented by his guard.

Whether this was one of those that were wounded when Smith was taken prisoner, or whether he was dying a natural death, which they, through ignorance and superstition, attributed to some sorcery in Smith, is not easy to be determined. However, they carried him to recover the poor man, breathing out his last. Smith told them he had a water at Jamestown that would do it, if they would let him fetch it. But they had more sense than to permit that, or to trust him out of their hands.

"They were now making the greatest preparations they could to assault Jamestown. To this end they desired Smith's advice and assistance; and, as a reward, promised him life, liberty, land, and women. But he represented to them the extreme danger and difficulty of the attempt; and described the springing of mines, great guns, and other warlike engines, in such a manner, as exceedingly frightened and amazed them. And then he persuaded some of them to go to Jamestown, under pretence of fetching some toys; and in part of a table-book, he informed them at the fort what was intended, and directed them how to behave and affright the messengers, and without fail to send him such things as he wrote for. Within three days, the messengers returned, through as bitter weather as could be, for frost and snow; and were greatly astonished themselves, as well as all that heard it, how Smith could divine, or the paper speak. For all things were delivered them, and had happened at Jamestown, according as he foretold.

"All thoughts of an attack upon Jamestown being therefore laid aside, they led Smith in show and triumph about the country. And first they carried him to those that dwelt on Youghtanund, or, as it is now called, Pamunkey river. For the main river, which is since named York river, was then called Pamunkey; although the country of Pamunkey, over which Opechancanough was king, lay in the fork of the river, and his chief seat was nearly where the Pamunkey town now is. From the Youghtanunds they led him to the Mattaponies, the Piankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds, on Rappahanock, and the Nominies, on Patowmack river. And having passed him over all those rivers, they brought him back, through several other nations, to Opechancanough's habitation at Pamunkey; where, with frightful howlings, and many strange and hellish ceremonies, they conjured him three days, to know, as they told him, whether he intended them well or ill. After this, they brought him a bag of gunpowder, which they judged to be a grain, springing out of the earth as other grains did; and therefore they carefully preserved it, intending to plant it the next spring, as they did their corn. And then he was invited, and feasted in a sumptuous manner, by Opitchapan, second brother to Powhatan, and next heir to all his dominions. But here, as in all other places, none of them would touch a morsel with him; although they would feast very merrily upon what he left. At last they conducted him to Werowocomoco, where Powhatan the emperor was. He lived in

great barbaric state and magnificence, and usually had about his person forty or fifty of the tallest men his country afforded; which guard was, after this time, increased to two hundred, on account of the English. Every night, upon the four corners of his house were placed four sentinels, each a slight shot from the other; and every half hour, one from the main guard hollowed, shaking his finger between his lips, and every sentinel was obliged to answer from his stand. If any failed, an officer was immediately sent, who beat him extremely. At all his ancient inheritances, he had houses, some of them thirty or forty yards long; and at every house, provision for his entertainment, according to the season. He kept as many women as he pleased; and when he laid down, one sat at his head, and another at his feet; but when he was up, one sat on his right hand, and another on his left; and as he was weary of them, he bestowed them on such of his servants as had most pleased him, or best deserved them at his hands.

"Although both himself and people were very barbarous, and void of all letters and civility, yet was there such a government among them, that the magistrates for good command, and the people for due subjection, excelled many places that would be counted very civil. He had under him above thirty inferior kings or werowances, who had power of life and death, but were bound to govern according to the customs of their country. However, his will was, in all cases, their supreme law, and must be obeyed.

They all knew their several lands, habitations, and limits to fish, fowl, or hunt in. But they held all of their great werowance [chief or king] Powhatan; to whom they paid tribute of skins, beads, copper, pearl, deer, turkies, wild beasts, and corn. All his subjects reverenced him, not only as a king, but as half a god; and it was curious to behold with what fear and adoration they obeyed him; for at his feet they presented whatever he commanded; and a frown of his brow would make their greatest spirits tremble; and indeed it was no wonder; for he was very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offended him, with variety of cruelty and the most exquisite torture.

"When Smith was presented to him, he was about sixty years of age, something hoary, and of a savage majesty and grandeur. He sat before a fire upon a wooden throne, like a bedstead, clothed with a great robe of racoon skins, and with a coronet of feathers about his head. On either hand, sat a young wench, of about sixteen or eighteen years of age; and along each side of the house, a row of men, and behind them as many women, painted and adorned in their best manner. When Smith entered, all the people gave a shout; and the queen of Appamattox was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them. After that, having feasted him in their best manner, a long consultation was held; at the conclusion of which, two great stones were brought before

Powhatan, and Smith was dragged to them, and his head laid thereon, in order to have his brains beat out with clubs; but Pocahontas, the king's darling daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head into her arms, and laid her own upon it to save his life. Whereupon Powhatan was persuaded to let him live, to make himself hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for the king himself would make his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, and pots; and would hunt, plant, and do every thing else like the rest; and therefore they thought him of all occupations, as well as themselves; and besides this surprising tenderness and affection of Pocahontas, who was at that time about twelve or thirteen years of age, Captain Smith received many services from Nantaquaus, the emperor's son. He was a youth of the comeliest and most manly person, and of the highest spirit and courage, of any in the court of Powhatan; and he embraced Smith's interest with much warmth and heartiness, and did him many acts of friendship and kindness.

"Two days after, Powhatan having disguised himself in the most frightful manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be carried to a great house in the woods, and there to be left alone on a mat by the fire. Not long after, from behind a mat, which divided the house, was made the most doleful noise he had ever heard; and then Powhatan, with about two hundred more, as frightful as himself, came to him and told him they were now friends, and he should immediately go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns

and a grindstone; for which he would give him the country of Capahowsick, and ever after esteem him as his son Nantaquaus. Captain Smith put little confidence in his words, and expected every minute, even till he got to Jamestown, to be put to one kind of death or other; but Powhatan sent him off immediately, with twelve guides; and having lodged that night in the woods, he arrived the next morning early at the fort."*

CHAPTER VIII.

Smith's Artifice—Another Revolt—Trade with the Indians—Arrival of Newport—Nelson's Escape from Shipwreck—Envy and Improvidence of Newport and his Company—Presents to Powhatan: his Cunning Device for Trading: Circumvented by Smith's Blue Beads—Successful Trade with Opechancanough—Destructive Conflagration at Jamestown—Mismanagement of Supplies—"Sect of Gold-finders"—Wingfield and Archer sent to England—Arrival of Nelson—Insolence of the Indians punished.

The seven weeks of captivity which Smith had passed among the savages, although of course irksome at the time, were of great ultimate advantage, both to himself and to the colony, enabling him to gain a knowledge of the country and of the Indian dialect, which were very useful in subsequent transactions. After safely reaching Jamestown, "he used his guides with the utmost kindness; and showed Rawhunt,

* Stith's History of Virginia.

Powhatan's trusty servant, two demi-culverins and a mill-stone to carry to their master. Their weight was sufficient to deter them from the attempt; but when they saw him discharge them, loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree hung with icicles, the terror of the report, and the rattling of the boughs and ice, so frighted the poor savages, that they ran away, half dead with fear; but having regained some conference with them, he gave them such toys for themselves, and sent Powhatan, his women, and children, such presents as gave a general satisfaction.

"At Jamestown every thing was in confusion, and the strongest were preparing once more to run away with the bark; but Smith, with the hazard of his life, forced her the third time, to stay or sink in the river; and the next day several combined with the president to put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, whom, they said, he had led to their end, and was consequently the author of their death. But he quickly took such order with those lawyers, that he 'laid them by the heels,' till he sent some of them prisoners to England. And then, by his relation of the plenty he had seen among the natives, especially at Werowocomoco, and of the state and bounty of Powhatan, till then unknown, he very much appeased their fears, and revived their dead spirits; and Pocahontas, with her attendants, every once in four or five days, brought him so much provision, as saved the lives of many, who must otherwise have perished with hunger.

Several others also of the natives repaired daily to the fort, with such provisions as sufficiently served them from hand to mouth. Part they always brought Smith, as presents from their kings or Pocahontas; and he, as their market-clerk, set the price upon the rest. So much had he astonished and enchanted those poor souls, whilst their prisoner, that they esteemed him as a demi-god, and were ready, at his beck, to do whatever he commanded; and the God who created all things, they knew, he adored as his God, and would, in their discourse, call him the God of Captain Smith.

"And this their high opinion was much increased by the arrival of Captain Newport, whom Smith, among them, called his father, nearly about the time that he had foretold; for the treasurer and council in England sent two ships the latter end of this year, with a supply of provisions and an hundred and twenty men. These came well furnished with all things that could be imagined necessary, as Captain Smith tells us; but, however, we must always make some allowance in his account of these things; for he was a very great friend to Sir Thomas Smith; and we shall see hereafter, from several authentic papers, but especially from a representation of our general assembly, among the records in the capitol, that that officer was most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, particularly in this matter of supplies. One of these ships was commanded by Captain Newport, the other by Captain Francis Nelson, an honest man

and expert mariner; but such was the lewardness of his ship, that although he was within sight of Cape Henry, yet by contrary winds and stormy weather, he was driven off the coast, and forced to the West Indies, to repair his masts, and to get a recruit of wood and water; but before this, the president and council so much envied Smith's esteem among the natives, although they all equally participated of the good effects of it, that to raise their credit and authority above his, they would give them four times as much for their commodities as he had appointed; And now, out of joy for the arrival of this first supply, and to gratify the mariners, they gave them free liberty to trade as they pleased. So that in a short time, what was before bought for an ounce of copper, could not be had for a pound. To which Captain Newport's profuse presents to Powhatan were added, and gave the finishing blow to their trade. They served indeed to entertain and keep up the high idea of Newport's greatness which Smith had raised in Powhatan, and made him very desirous to see him.

"Accordingly the bark was prepared, and a great coil there was at Jamestown to set him off. Captain Smith and Mr. Mathew Scrivener, a discreet and understanding gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the council, attended him with a guard of thirty or forty chosen men. When they came to Werowocomoco, Newport began to entertain many fears and suspicions of treachery; but Smith, with twenty men, undertook to encounter the worst that could happen;

and going ashore, was kindly conducted by two or three hundred Indians to the town. Powhatan strained himself upon this occasion, to the utmost of his greatness to entertain them, with great shouts of joy, orations, and protestations, and with the most sumptuous and plentiful banquet he could provide. He sat on a bed of mats, with a pillow of leather embroidered with pearl and white beads; and was clothed in a robe of skins, as large as an Irish mantle. At his head and feet sat a handsome young woman; and on each side the house, twenty of his concubines, with their heads and shoulders painted red, and a great chain of white beads about each of their necks. Before them sat his chief men in the like order; and above forty platters of fine bread stood in two files on each side of the door. Four or five hundred people attended as a guard; and proclamation was made, that none, upon pain of death, should presume to do the English any wrong or discourtesy; and thus did Smith and he spend the day, in a kind renewal of their former acquaintance, and in feasting and seeing them dance and sing, and play their other feats of humor and activity; and that night, the English were quartered and lodged by Powhatan.

"The next morning, Newport came ashore, and they spent three or four days more in feasting, and dancing, and trading. In all which time, Powhatan behaved himself with such loftiness and state, and yet with so much discretion, that they could not forbear admiring his natural parts and understanding. Scorning to trade as

his subjects did, he told Newport that he esteemed him a great werowance, as well as himself; that it was not agreeable to their dignity to trade in that pedling manner for trifles; and that, therefore, if he would lay down all his commodities together, he would choose what he liked, and give him their value. Smith, who was their interpreter, and knew Powhatan's disposition, told the company his intent was only to cheat them; but Newport, thinking to out-brave this stately barbarian in ostentation and greatness, and by his bounty to obtain from him whatever he pleased, accepted the condition; and then Powhatan, having taken what he liked, valued his corn at such a rate, that they had not four bushels for what they expected twenty hogsheads. This bred some distaste between the two English captains; but Smith, smothering his dislike before the savages, glanced several trifles in the eyes of Powhatan, who soon fixed his fancy on some blue beads. He was a long time importunate to have them; but Smith valued them so much the higher, and told him they were composed of a rare substance of the color of the skies, and were not to be worn by any but the greatest kings in the world. This made him the more eager and mad for them; so that for a pound or two of blue beads, he drew from him two or three hundred bushels of corn, and yet parted in good friendship. Upon this voyage, Newport gave Powhatan a boy named Thomas Savage, whom he called his son; and Powhatan gave him Namontack, a servant of his, of a

shrewd and subtle capacity," who afterwards visited England, and was murdered on the return voyage at Bermudas.

From Werowocomoco they went to Pamunkey, where they were feasted in like manner by Opechancanough. Smith fitted him also, at the same rates, with blue beads; which, by this means, grew into such estimation, that none durst wear them but their great kings, or their wives and children. At length, weighing from thence, they returned to Jamestown; where this new supply of corn being lodged with the rest, their storehouse was by some accident fired, and so the town, which, being thatched with reeds, burnt with that fierceness and violence, as soon consumed their wooden fortifications, with their arms, apparel, and bedding, and much private goods and provision. The good Mr. Hunt lost all his library, with every thing else that he had, except the clothes on his back; yet no one ever heard him murmur or repine at it.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate accident, they had yet a tolerable stock of oatmeal, meal, and corn, had not the ship loitered fourteen weeks in the country, when she might as well have been gone in fourteen days; for they thereby helped to consume a great part of the colony's store, and nearly all the provisions sent to be landed. When they departed, they left them what little they thought proper to spare; which they were glad to receive, and make up an account, highly commending their care and providence, lest they should discourage the council at

home from sending any more. Yet those persons who had either money, spare clothes, credit for bills of exchange, gold rings, furs, or any such valuable commodities, were always welcome to this floating tavern. Such was their necessity and misfortune, to be under the lash of those vile commanders, and to buy their own provisions at fifteen times their value; suffering them to feast at their charge, whilst themselves were obliged to fast, and yet dare not repine, lest they should incur the censure of being factious and seditious persons. By these means and management, the colony was rather burdened than relieved, by the vast charge of this ship; and being reduced to meal and water, and exposed, by the loss of their town, to the most bitter cold and frost, above half of them died. Smith indeed and Scrivener endeavored to correct all abuses, and to put things into a better posture; but they could do nothing to effect, being overpowered by the president and his party, who had long before this laid aside their deference to Smith's judgment and management.

"About this time also (1608) there sprung up a very troublesome sect of gold-finders, which was headed by Captain Martin, and warmly embraced by Newport. There was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold; and notwithstanding Captain Smith's warm and judicious representations, how absurd it was to neglect other things of immediate use and necessity, to load such a drunken ship with gilded

dust; yet was he over-ruled, and her returns made in a parcel of glittering dirt which is found in various parts of the country, and which they very sanguinely concluded to be gold dust; and in her they sent home Mr. Wingfield and Captain Archer, to seek some better place of employment in England; for they had assumed many empty titles of offices here, as admirals, recorders, chronologers, justices of the peace and of the courts of plea, with other such idle and insignificant pretensions.

"And now Martin and the president, carrying all things as they pleased, by their faction, lived in great splendor by the sale of the store's commodities, as if they had been their proper and hereditary revenue; and the spring approaching, Captain Smith and Mr. Scrivener prepared fields for corn, and applied themselves to rebuild Jamestown, and repair the church, store-house, and fortifications; but whilst they were all busily engaged at their several labors, Captain Nelson, who had been driven off the coast, as was before said, and, as they all thought, lost, unexpectedly arrived to their great joy. He had been very careful and provident, and had fed his company on what he got at the West India islands; so that the provisions he now landed, joined to their former store, were sufficient to support them half a year, according to their present allowance. He himself also freely imparted whatever he had; and by his fair and generous behavior, he got the good word and love of the whole colony; and the president, to send some good news by

this ship, ordered Captain Smith, with sixty able men, to discover the country of the Monacan, or, as they were afterwards called, the Manakin Indians; a nation above the falls of James river, not subject to Powhatan, but professed enemies to him and his dominions; for that strange blood-thirstiness, and, as it were, judicial infatuation, of warring against and exterminating each other, which at present infests our Indians, and has been the cause of the utter extirpation of most of the nations on this continent, was even then rooted in their nature, and may be observed in the oldest accounts that we have of them. However, as it was the time of planting corn, and this ship was to be dispatched, Captain Smith thought those and other things more urgent at that time, and therefore deferred the discovery, till he could perform it with less charge and more leisure.

"When Newport left the country, Powhatan presented him with twenty turkies, and in return demanded twenty swords, which were immediately sent him. Afterwards he presented Captain Smith with the like number; but having no swords in return, he was highly offended, and ordered his people to take them by stratagem or force. So that they became insufferably troublesome and insolent, would surprise the English at their work, and seize their swords at the very ports of Jamestown. The president and Martin, who now bore the sway, would keep their houses, or do any thing, rather than transgress a strict command from England, not to offend them; but

at length they happened to meddle with Captain Smith, who gave them a rough encounter, hunted them up and down the island, and seized seven, whom he whipped and imprisoned. By this and other smart proceedings, he brought them to submission; and they unanimously confessed that they acted by Powhatan's direction, in order to get swords from the English, to cut their own throats; and they likewise fully disclosed how, where, and when, this design was to be put in execution; all which was confirmed by many concurrent circumstances; but Powhatan, finding that things went not according to his desire and intent, sent Pocahontas with presents to excuse himself for the injuries done by some of his ungovernable captains; and he desired their liberty for this time, with assurances of his love and friendship for ever; and Smith, having given them a proper correction, delivered them to Pocahontas; for whose sake alone he pretended to save their lives, and give them their liberty. Thus, without the death of one man, he restrained their insolence, and brought them into such perfect fear and obedience, that his very name was sufficient to fright them; whereas before they had sometimes peace and war twice in a day, and seldom a week passed without some treachery or ambuscade; but the peaceable council were highly offended at these proceedings, and expostulated warmly with him for his rashness and cruelty.

"There had been a dispute between Martin and Smith, whether this ship should be laded

with cedar or dirt; but her freight being concluded to be cedar, she was, by the diligence of her captain and Smith, quickly dispatched. In her Captain Martin, being always sickly and unserviceable, and having his head full of the idle whimsy of a gold mine, was most willingly admitted to return to England. In these two ships, besides Mr. Scrivener, came Walter Russel, doctor of physic, Richard Fetherstone, and some others of note; and whilst Nelson and Smith were engaged in loading the ship, Mr. Scrivener was neither idle nor slow in carrying on the works of Jamestown; but the president's prodigality and state went so deep, and was so sensibly felt in their small store, that he and Smith were obliged to bind him and his parasites to the rules of proportion."*

CHAPTER IX.

Departure of Nelson—Exploration of Chesapeake Bay—Visits to Various Indian Tribes—Discontent among the Crew—Discovery of the Potomac—Severe Accident to Smith from a Stingray—Return to Jamestown—Ratcliffe deposed, and Smith elected President—He appoints Scrivener his substitute—Another Exploring Expedition—the Massawomeks, Tockwoghs, Susquesahanocks, Rappahanocks, Maraughtacunds, Mannahocks, and other Indian Tribes—Numerous Adventures and Narrow Escapes—Return to Jamestown.

"On the 2d of June Captain Nelson fell down the river, and was accompanied to the capes by Smith, who, (in an open boat of about three tons

* Stith's History of Virginia.

burthen, together with Dr. Russel and thirteen more,) was going to explore Chesapeake bay. Parting with the ship at Cape Henry, they stood over to those islands, which were then called, after him their first discoverer, Smith's islands. The first people they saw were two grim and stout Indians on Cape Charles, with long poles, like javelins, headed with bone. They sternly demanded what they were, and what they wanted; but grew afterwards more kind, and directed them to Accomack, the habitation of their werowance. This king treated them very kindly, and was the comeliest, most proper and civil Indian they had met with. They spoke the language of Powhatan, and at that time lay under the misfortune of a strange mortality, which they attributed to a miracle. Passing on from thence, they coasted it along, and searched every inlet and bay that seemed proper for harbors or habitations; and many harbors they found for small vessels, but none fit to receive large ships.

"Running up the river, the natives at first threatened, with great fury, to assault them; but at last became very tractable and kind. They dug in several places, and searched their habitations, yet could get but little water, and that mere puddle. Yet such was their distress two days after, that they would have refused a quart full of gold for a pint of that puddle. Departing from thence, they found on a high point of land, which they called Point Ployer, a pond of fresh water, but so exceedingly hot, that they supposed it to be some bath. Then standing over to some

other islands, there arose such another thunder-gust, that their mast and sail was blown over-board, and such mighty waves over-racked their boat, that they could scarce, with much labor in bailing out the water, keep her from sinking. Two days they staid among these islands, and because of the gusts and storms that then happened, they called the place Limbo; but they are the same, which have since been named Wats's Islands. Having repaired the loss of their sail with their shirts, they stood over again to the eastern shore, and fell in with a pretty convenient river, then called Cuscarawock. This is what is laid down in our present charts by the name of Wighcocomoco, by whatever accident that name hath shifted in process of time, from Pokomoke river to this. Here the natives opposed them very furiously; but leaving some toys in their huts, they brought some of them over at last to be very fond and obliging. On this river lived the nations of Sarapinagh, Nause, Arseck, and Nantaquack, who were the best merchants and greatest traders of all the Indians of this country. They had the finest furs, and made large quantities of the best Roanoke; which was a sort of white bead, that occasioned as much dissension among those barbarians, as gold and silver among Christians. They told the English of, and highly extolled, a great nation, called the Massawomecks; in search of whom they returned again, by Limbo, into the bay; and finding the coast of the eastern shore nothing but shallow, broken isles, and for

the most part without fresh water, they stood away from thence across the bay, bearing a little upwards, and fell in on the western side, above the mouth of Patuxent river, against some high clifts, which they called Riccard's Clifts. From hence they sailed thirty leagues farther northward, without finding any inhabitants. The coast was all along well watered, but very mountainous and barren, except the vallies, which were rich and fertile, but extremely thick wooded, and therefore abounded in wolves, bears, deer, and other wild beasts. They passed by many coves and small streams. The first they found navigable for a ship, they called Bolus River, because the clay in many places under the clifts grew up in red and white knobs, like gum out of trees, and they concluded it to be bole armeniac and terra sigillata. This river, by its situation and bearings, must be the same with Patapsco in Maryland.

"And now Captain Smith's crew, who at first feared nothing so much as his too hasty return, began to be very much soiled and fatigued. They had laid twelve or fourteen days in that open boat, were often tired at the oars, and their bread was spoiled and rotten with the rain; so that they were very importunate with him to return; but he reminded them of the memorable resolution of Sir Ralph Lane's company, in the discovery of the river Moratuc, who insisted on his going forward, as long as they had a dog left, which, being boiled with sassafras leaves, would afford them a rich repast in their return; and he

told them, what a shame it would be, to oblige him to return, with so much provision as they then had, when they could scarce say where they had been, or give any account of what they were sent to discover: that they could not deny but he had shared with them in the worst of what was past; and he was willing to take to himself the worst part of what was to come: that it was not likely any thing worse should befal them, than what had already happened; and that to return, was as dangerous as to proceed. He therefore advised them to resume their lost courage; for he was determined not to desist till he had seen the Massawomecks, found Patowmack, or traced the head of the bay; but after this, they were detained by the wind and weather three days; which added such a discouragement, that three or four fell sick, whose dissatisfaction and piteous complaints at last prevailed with him to return.

"On the 16th of June, they fell in with the mouth of Patowmack. Their fears being now gone, and men recovered, they all agreed to take some pains in the discovery of that seven-mile broad river; for although Smith had been carried over it in his captivity, yet he knew it not again by the mouth. For thirty miles they found no inhabitants; but afterwards were conducted, by two savages, up a little bayed creek, towards Nominy, where they discovered the woods laid with ambuscades, to the number of three or four thousand Indians, strangely grimmed and disguised, and making a horrible shouting and yell-

ing. They made many bravadoes, and Smith prepared, with as great seeming willingness, to encounter them; but commanding some muskets to be discharged on purpose, the grazing of the bullets on the water, together with the report and echo of the woods, so frightened and amazed them, that they threw down their arms, and became very kind and hearty friends. They owned they were commanded to betray that party of English, by the direction of Powhatan, who was desired so to do by some discontented persons at Jamestown, because Captain Smith obliged them to stay in the country against their will. They afterwards went up the river, as high as they could with their boat; and were received in some places kindly, and in others in a hostile manner. Up a small river, then called Quiyough, which I take to be Patowmack creek, was a mine like antimony. In this the Indians dug, and washing away the dross in a clear brook which ran by, they put up the remainder in little bags, and sold it all over the country, to deck their bodies, faces, and idols; which made them look like blackamores, dusted over with silver. Newport had carried some of these bags home, and assured them that they were found, upon trial, to contain half silver. Being therefore very eager after this mine, they obtained guides from Japazaws, king of Patowmack, who lived at the mouth of that little river, and went up to it; but all they got proved of no value. Towards the falls of Patowmack, they met several parties of Indians in canoes, loaded with

the flesh of bears, deer, and other wild beasts, which they generously impart to them; and in divers places they saw that abundance of fish lying with their heads above water, that their barge driving among them, for want of a net, they attempt to catch them with a frying pan; but they found that a bad instrument to catch fish.

"From Patowmack they set sail for Rappahanock, or, as it was by many called, Toppahanock river; where the captain intended to visit his captivity-acquaintance; but their boat, by reason of the lowness of the tide, ran aground on some shoals at the mouth of that river, where they spied many fish lurking in the sedge. The captain diverted himself by nailing them to the ground with his sword; and the rest betaking themselves to the same sport, they took more fish in an hour, than they could eat in a day; but Captain Smith, taking from his sword a fish, like a thornback, with a long tail, in the midst of which was a poisoned sting, of two or three inches length, bearded like a saw on each side, she struck her sting into his wrist an inch and a half. No blood or wound was seen, but only a little blue spot; yet such was the extremity of pain, and his hand, arm, and shoulder, were so swollen in four hours' time, that they all, with much sorrow, expected his death, and prepared his grave in an island by, as he himself directed; but it pleased God, by the application of an oil, which Dr. Russel had with him, his torment was so eased and assuaged before night, that to the great joy of the company, he eat of the fish

for his supper; and in memory of this accident, they called the isle Stingray Island, after the name of the fish.

"Their provisions being near spent, and being also deterred by this misfortune, they set sail immediately for Jamestown; and passing by the mouths of Pinkatank and Pamunkey rivers, they arrived the next day at Kicquotan. From thence they proceeded up to Warrasqueake; where, trimming their barge with painted streamers, and other such devices, they were taken for a Spanish frigate at Jamestown, where they arrived the 21st of July. There they found the last supply of men all sick; and of the rest, some lame, some bruised, and all in a tumult and uproar against the unreasonable pride and cruelty of the president, whom they would as strangely have tormented with revenge, had it not been for this seasonable arrival of the discovery barge. He had riotously consumed the store, and had greatly harassed and fatigued the people, in building an unnecessary house of pleasure for himself in the woods; but their fury was much appeased by the good news of this discovery, and by the hopes, from some mistaken interpretation of the savage's account, that our bay reached to the South Sea, or somewhere near it; but above all, by the deposing Ratcliffe, and Captain Smith's taking the government upon himself.

"Smith substituted his good friend Mr. Scrivener, who then lay exceeding ill of a calenture, in the presidency; and having settled all things

to his own and the people's satisfaction, he staid but three days at Jamestown; for the 24th of July, he set forward, with twelve men, to finish the discovery of the bay. They were detained two or three days at Kicquotan, by contrary winds, where they were kindly entertained and feasted by the king, and in diversion fired several rockets, which greatly terrified and astonished the poor savages. From thence they anchored, the first night, at Stingray Island; and the next day, crossing the mouth of Patowmack, they hastened to the river Bolus. A little beyond that, they found the bay divided into four streams, all which they searched, as far as they could sail. Two of them they found inhabited, the rivers Susquesahanock and Tockwogh, since called Sassafras river. In crossing the bay, they met seven or eight canoes full of Massawomecks, a great and powerful nation of Indians inhabiting upon some of the lakes of Canada, and the original perhaps of those at present known by the name of the Senecas or Six Nations. They were at that time professed enemies, and a great terror to the nations dwelling on the upper part of our bay, and had then been at war with the Tockwoghs. After mutual threats of assault between them and the English, they were at last induced to go on board the barge; and by interchangeable presents becoming good friends, they departed without farther intercourse or conversation.

"The next day, entering the river Tockwogh, they were environed with a fleet of canoes, full

of armed men; but coming to a parley, and the Tockwoghs seeing the Massawomeck arms, which they had presented to the English the day before, and which the English made them believe they had taken in war, they were soon reconciled, and conducted them to their town. It was palisadoed round, mantled with the barks of trees, had scaffolds like mounts, and was breasted very formally. The men, women, and children did their utmost to express their affection; and welcomed them with songs, dances, fruits, and furs, and with whatever else they had. Here they saw many hatchets, knives, and pieces of iron and brass, which, they told them, they had from the Susquesahanocks, a mighty nation, dwelling on the chief of the four branches at the head of the bay, two days' journey above the falls of that river. They prevailed with two Tockwoghs to go and invite some of the Susquesahanocks to them. In three or four days, sixty of those gigantic people came down with presents of various kinds; and the wind being too high for their canoes, five of their chief werowances came boldly on board the English barge, and crossed the bay to Tockwogh.

"This nation of the Susquesahanocks could muster about six hundred fighting men, and lived in palisadoed towns, to defend themselves against the Massawomecks, their mortal enemies. They were very large, well-proportioned men, and appeared like giants to the English and other Indians; yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, and were scarcely restrained from

adoring the English as gods; and their language and attire were very suitable to their stature and appearance; for their language sounded deep, and solemn, and hollow, like a voice in a vault. Their attire was the skins of bears and wolves, so cut, that the man's head went through the neck, and the ears of the bear were fastened on his shoulders, while the nose and teeth hung dangling down upon his breast. Behind was another bear's face split, with a paw hanging at the nose; and their sleeves, coming down to their elbows, were the necks of bears, with their arms going through the mouth, and paws hanging to the noses. One had the head of a wolf hanging to a chain, for a jewel; and his tobacco pipe was three-quarters of a yard long, carved with a bird, a deer, and other devices at the great end; which was sufficient to beat out a man's brains. They measured the calf of the largest man's leg, and found it three-quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbs were in proportion; so that he seemed the stateliest and most goodly personage they had ever beheld. His arrows were five-quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white crystal-like stone, in form of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a half, or more, long. These he carried at his back, in a wolf's skin for his quiver, with his bow in one hand, and his club in the other.

"The manner of the English was daily to have prayers with a psalm; at which solemnity those poor barbarians wondered greatly. Prayers being done, the Susquesahanocks held a con-

sultation; and then began in a very passionate manner to hold up their hands to the sun, with a most frightful song. Then embracing Captain Smith, they began to adore him in like manner. He rebuked them for it; but they persisted, till their song was finished. After which, with a strange furious action, and a dismal voice, they began an oration of their love; which ended, they covered him with a large painted bear's skin. One stood ready with a great chain of white beads, weighing six or seven pounds, which he hung about his neck. The others had eighteen mantles, made of divers sorts of skins sewed together; all which, with many other baubles, they laid at his feet, stroking their hands about his neck, for his creation to be their governor and protector. They promised him aids of men and victuals, and even offered all that they had, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them on the Massawomecks; but he was obliged to leave them at Tockwogh, very sorrowful for his departure; yet promised to visit them again the next year. They knew nothing of Powhatan and his territories but the name; and they informed the English that their hatchets and other commodities came originally from the French of Canada.

"Having searched all the rivers and inlets worth note, they passed down the bay, naming all the remarkable head-lands and places after some of the company or their friends. On the river Patuxent they found the people tractable and civil above all others. They, as well as the

Patowmacks, were very urgent with Smith to revenge them on the Massawomecks, which he promised to do, but was afterwards crossed in his purpose; for depending upon the assistance and provisions of those two nations, and of the Susquesahanocks, he was very willing to hazard his person in the expedition: and therefore, after his return, he petitioned the council for forty men, to effect such a conquest and discovery; but the council, envying his industry and success, and deterred perhaps also by the difficulty of the undertaking, refused to risk the lives of so many men, in so long and so dangerous an enterprise.

"In the discovery of Rappahanock river, they were kindly received and entertained by the people of Moraughtacund. Here they met with an old friend and acquaintance, one Mosco, a lusty Indian of Wighcocomoco on the river Patowmack. They supposed him some Frenchman's son, because he had a thick, black, bushy beard, and the Indians seldom have any at all; and he was not a little proud of this, and to see so many of his countrymen. He was very officious and useful to the English; and advised them by all means not to pass over to the Rappahanocks, who would certainly kill them for being friends with the Moraughtacunds, who had lately stolen three of their king's women; but thinking he only said this to secure their trade to his friends, they crossed the river to the Rappahanocks. There, under pretence of trade, they were invited up Rappahanock creek,

where they had laid an ambush; and after a smart skirmish, in which many Indians were slain and wounded, the English came off victors without the least hurt. Having driven them up into the woods, they seized three or four canoes, full of commodities, which, with some arrows they had gathered up, they presented to Mosco for his kindness; and he, on his part, received them in the most triumphant manner, and in the best martial order under arms, that he could procure of the Moraughtacunds.

"They spent the rest of the day in fitting up their boat with a breast-work of Massawomeck targets, which they had received from them, as presents, at the head of the bay, and which had been of singular use in the battle with the Rappahanocks. They were made of small twigs, woven together so firmly with strings of wild hemp and silk-grass, that no arrow could possibly pierce them. The next morning, they set sail up the river; and Mosco followed along the shore, and at last desired to go with them in the boat. As they passed by Pisacack, Matchopeake, and Mecuppom, three towns, situate on the north side of the river, on high, white, clay clifts, with a low marsh over against them, and the river but narrow, thirty or forty Rappahanocks had so disguised themselves with branches, that they took them for little bushes growing in the sedge. They saw their arrows often strike against the targets, and drop into the river; and at last Mosco, falling flat on his face in the boat, cried out, 'The Rappahanocks!' They soon

perceived them to be the bushes in the sedge, which at the first volley fell down; and when they had passed about half a mile further, they again showed themselves, singing and dancing very merrily; but they were kindly treated by the rest of the nations to the falls, and they even used their utmost interest with Mosco, to bring the English to them. Between Secobeck on the south, and Massawteck on the north side of the river, there was a small island or two, which made the river broader than ordinary. Here Mr. Richard Fetherstone, one of their company, died; who, from his first coming to the country, had behaved himself honestly, valiantly, and industriously. They buried him in a little bay, which they then called Fetherstone's bay, with a volley of their arms; but the rest of the last supply, who had, on the expedition, been miserably sick and harassed with their seasoning, had by this time perfectly recovered their health.

"The next day, they sailed up as high as their boat could go, setting up crosses, and carving their names on the trees; which they constantly did at all the highest places they went to. As they ranged about at the falls, the sentinel saw an arrow fall by him; and giving the alarm, they perceived about an hundred nimble Indians, skipping from tree to tree, and letting fly their arrows as fast as they could; but after half an hour's skirmish, they all vanished as suddenly as they came. As the English returned from the pursuit, they found an Indian, lying as dead, shot in the knee. Mosco, who had been of great

service in the battle, was as furious to beat out his brains, as ever dog was against a bear; but protecting him from his rage, and carrying him to the surgeon who attended to cure the captain's hurt of the stingray, he was within an hour so far recovered, that he both ate and spoke. He was brother to the king of Hassininga, one of the four nations of the Mannahocks. These were a people dwelling above the falls of Rappahanock, neighbors to, and in strict friendship and alliance with the Manakins against Powhatan and his territories; for the Manakins were not confined to one place or town, as is vulgarly thought, but spread all that country, from a small distance above the falls of James river up to the mountains, in several towns; and they were the heads or chiefs of the league and confederacy of the upland and mountain Indians against the power and tyranny of Powhatan. These Mannahocks, their neighbors and allies, lived on small streams, in a hilly country, chiefly by hunting; and were then come down to fish at Mohaskahod, a small hunting town, on the north side of the falls of Rappahanock, and the boundary between them and the Nantaughtacunds, a large nation on the navigable river below the falls. The English asked their prisoner why they had endeavored to destroy them, who came to them in peace, to seek their friendship. He answered, that they heard the English were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them. Being asked how many worlds he knew, he said he knew none but that which was under

the sky that covered him, and which consisted of the Powhatans, the Manakins, and the Massawomecks; and he told them that the last dwelt on a great water, had many boats, and so many men, that they warred on all the world besides. After many other questions concerning the country, especially beyond the great mountains, to which he could give no satisfactory answers, they presented him with some toys, and persuaded him to go along with them; but he pressed them much to stay the coming of the Mannahock kings, who, for their good usage to him, should be their friends; and notwithstanding Mosco's eager solicitations to be gone, they resolved to stay till night, preparing themselves to entertain whatever should come.

"All this while the king of Hassininga was seeking the rest, and held a long consultation what to do. When the English had weighed and were gone, they followed them all night, yelling, and hallooing, and shooting their arrows, and would come to no terms or discourse; but in the morning, being brought to a parley, Amoroleck, the prisoner, held a long discourse with them. He told them how good the English were, and how kindly they had used him; that they had a Patowmack with them, that loved them as his life, and would have slain him, had they not prevented it; and that he might have his liberty if they would be friends; to which he advised them by all means, since to do them any hurt was impossible. Upon this they all hung their bows and quivers upon the trees;

and one came swimming aboard with a bow tied on his head, and another with a quiver of arrows. Having presented them to the captain, he used them very kindly, and told them that the other three kings should do the same, and then the great king of his world should be their friend. This was no sooner demanded, than performed; and so going ashore on a low morass point of land, those four kings came, and received Amoroleck; and after many mutual civilities and presents, the English departed, leaving four or five hundred Mannahocks, singing, dancing, and making loud and barbarous rejoicings.

"In their return down the river they visited all their friends, who rejoiced much at their victory over the Mannahocks. By their entreaty, Captain Smith was induced to make peace with the Rappahanocks; upon condition that they should present him the king's bow and arrows, and not offer to come armed where he was; and that they should be friends with the Moraughtacunds, his friends, and give their king's son a hostage for the performance. Accordingly, the kings of Nantaughtacund and Pisasack met the English at the place where they first fought. There the king of Rappahanock presented his bow and arrows, and performed all they demanded, except the delivering his son; for having no other, he said he could not live without him; and he offered in his stead to give up the three women, which the Moraughtacunds had stolen from him. This was accepted; and the women being brought, Captain Smith presented each of

them with a chain of beads. Then causing the king of Rappahanock, of Moraughtacund, and Mosco to stand before him, he bid the king of Rappahanock take her he loved best, Moraughtacund to choose next, and to Mosco he gave the third; and thus was the peace concluded, and celebrated with feasting, singing, and dancing; and Mosco, to express his love to the English, changed his name to Uttasantasough, which signified in their language, *Stranger*, and was the name by which they called the English; and then all the Indians, promising to be always their friends, and to plant corn purposely for them; and the English, on their side, to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them; they departed, giving them a volley of their fire-arms, which they returned with as loud shouts and cries as their strength could utter.

"That night they anchored in the river Piankatank, and discovered it as high as it was navigable; but the people were gone out to hunting, except a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corn. Of these they obtained a promise of part, when they should fetch it; as they had likewise done of all the nations, wherever they had been. Going from thence to Point Comfort, they were in a bay on the south of the mouth of York river, then called Gosnold's bay, surprised in the night with such a sudden gust of thunder and rain, that they never expected more to see Jamestown; but discerning the land by the flashes of lightning, they avoided splitting on the shore; till, by

the help of the same light, they found Point Comfort, where they landed, and refreshed themselves the rest of the night.

"Having discovered so many nations at a distance, they thought it highly proper and necessary to know their near neighbours, the Chesapeakes, and Nansamonds, of whom they had, as yet, only heard. Therefore setting sail for the southern shore, they entered a narrow river, then called Chesapeake, but now Elizabeth, on which the town of Norfolk stands. It had a good channel, but some shoals about the entrance. They sailed up six or seven miles, and saw two or three little garden-plots, with houses, and the shores overgrown with the largest pines they had ever seen in the country; but neither seeing nor hearing any people, and their river being very narrow, they returned back, and coasted the shore towards Nansamond, which they found to be chiefly oyster-banks. At the mouth of Nansamond, they spied six or seven Indians making their weirs, who presently fled; but the English went ashore, and threw divers toys where they were working, and so departed. They were not gone far, before the Indians returned, and began to sing, and dance, and call them back. One of them came voluntarily into their boat, and invited them up the river to his house, which was in a little island, where (as well as on the main land against it) they saw many and large corn-fields. He treated them with great civility, and they in return presented him, his wife, and children, with such toys as

highly pleased them. By that time the others being come, invited them higher up the river, under pretence of going to their houses likewise; but they soon found that they only intended to decoy them up into the narrows of the river, where the whole nations of the Nansamonds and Chesapeakes were in ambush to receive them. Having discovered the treachery, they made the best of their way down into the open, amidst the shot of three or four hundred Indians, which they returned from their muskets with such effect, that they soon made them glad to take shelter behind the trees. Above an hundred arrows stuck in their breast-work of Massawomeck targets, and about the boat, yet none was hurt. Only Anthony Bagnall, the surgeon, was shot in his hat, and another in the sleeve. Having gained the open against the island, they seized on all their canoes, and resolved, upon consultation, to burn every thing on the island at night. In the mean while they began to cut to pieces their canoes; at the sight of which the Indians threw down their arms, and sued for peace; which the English granted, on condition they would bring their king's bow and arrows, with a chain of pearl; and should, when they came back again, give them four hundred baskets of corn. Otherwise they threatened to break all their canoes, to burn their houses and corn, and to destroy all that they had. To these conditions the Indians most joyfully agreed; and flocking down with their baskets, they soon loaded their boat with corn, and so parted good friends.

"And thus having viewed and reconnoitered all the places on the bay, and having passed about three thousand miles, according to their own computation, in that small and open boat, and in the midst of many barbarous and savage nations, they returned with joy and triumph to Jamestown, where they arrived safe, the 7th of September, 1608. There they found Mr. Scrivener, and several others, well recovered; some sick; many dead; the late president a prisoner for mutiny; and the corn, by Mr. Scrivener's honest diligence, gathered; but the provisions in the store much injured by the rain."*

CHAPTER X.

Smith consents to administer the Government—Arrival of Newport with a Crown and other Absurd Gifts for Powhatan—Smith opposes his Course, but is Overruled: Visits Powhatan, who finally submits to a Coronation—Newport's Unfortunate Expedition to the Manakins---Novel Remedy for Profanity---Smith's Success in procuring Corn: Plot to Injure him Overthrown---Newport and his Mariners the Source of much Mischief and Misrepresentation---Complaints of the Council in England---Smith's Rejoinder.

"On the 10th of September, by the election of the council, and the request of the colony, Captain Smith was invested with the government; which, till then, he would by no means accept, though often importuned to it. And now the building of Ratcliffe's palace was stopped, and works of more immediate use and

* Stith's History of Virginia.

necessity undertaken. The church was repaired; the store-house new covered; and a place made ready for the reception of the supplies they daily expected from England. The fort was reduced into form; the order of the watch was renewed; the troops trained at each setting of the watch; and the whole company every Saturday exercised in the plain towards the west, which was prepared for that purpose, and called Smithfield; where sometimes above an hundred Indians would stand in amazement, to behold how a file would batter a tree, where the president had made them a mark to shoot at. And now being the time of gathering corn, and of plenty among the Indians, the boats were trimmed for trade, and sent out under the command of Lieutenant Percy; but in their way, meeting Captain Newport with the second supply, he brought them back to Jamestown.

"Captain Newport was in reality an empty, idle, interested man; very fearful and suspicious in times of danger and difficulty; but a very great and important person in his own talk and conceit. He had, by the advantage of going to and fro, gained so much upon the ear and confidence of the council and company in England, that whatever he proposed, was for the most part concluded and resolved on; and upon this voyage, he obtained a private commission, not to return without a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea, or one of the lost company, sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh. Besides, he brought an express command to discover the

country of the Manakins, with a barge, for conveniency of carriage, to be taken into five pieces, which they were to carry beyond the falls, to the South Sea. He likewise brought over a crown for Powhatan, with orders for his coronation, and presents of a bason and ewer, bed, bedstead, clothes, and other costly novelties; which stately kind of court had this bad effect, that it made him value himself too much, and overrate his favour, which they had before much better for a plain piece of copper. In this voyage came over many persons of distinction: Captain Peter Wynne and Captain Richard Waldo, two old soldiers and valiant gentlemen, both appointed of the council; Mr. Francis West, brother to the Lord Delaware; Raleigh Croshaw, John Russel, John Codrington, Daniel Tucker, Mr. Hunt, Thomas Forest, and others, to the number of seventy persons. In this ship likewise arrived Mrs. Forest, and Anne Burras, her maid, the first English women ever in this country; and eight Poles and Germans were sent, to make pitch, tar, glass, mills, and soap-ashes; which, when the country was replenished with people and necessaries, would have done exceedingly well, but in that their infant state, they were only a burden and hindrance to the rest, who were sufficiently puzzled and employed to find subsistence for themselves.

"Captain Smith, whose mind was solid and provident, and plainly foresaw the ill consequence of spending that time in these projects, which ought to be employed in the speedy dispatch of

the ship, and in trading and laying in a store of provisions for the year, was much mortified and perplexed with these orders, and strenuously opposed their execution in council; but Newport undertook to freight the bark of twenty tons with corn, in going and returning from the Manakins; and to obtain another load for her of Powhatan, from Werowocomoco. He also promised a large proportion of victuals from the ship; which he was so far from performing, that the colony was obliged to spare him three hogsheads of corn to victual him homeward. In short, he represented Smith's opposition as a mere device to hinder his journey, that he might himself effect the discovery; and he said that his cruelty to the Indians might well be a means to hinder these designs, and to make them seek revenge. Smith's opinion being therefore overruled by the unanimous voice of the council, all other works and designs were laid aside, and an hundred and twenty chosen men appointed for Newport's guard on the expedition.

"But Smith, to clear himself of these suspicions, and to show that the Indians were not so desperate as was pretended by Newport, and how willing he was to assist, as far as he could, undertook himself to carry their message to Powhatan, and to invite him to Jamestown to receive his presents; and taking with him only Captain Waldo and three more, he went across by land, about twelve miles to Werowocomoco, where he passed the river in an Indian canoe. Powhatan, being thirty miles off, was immedi-

ately sent for; and in the mean time, Pocahontas and her women entertained him with a strange mask and barbarian piece of revelry, and feasted them with all the savage dainties they could devise, The next day Powhatan came, and Smith delivered his message, together with Namontack, his servant, whom he had sent to England. And he desired him to come to his father Newport, to receive his presents, and to enter upon measures for their effectual revenge against the Manakins. To this that subtle barbarian answered; 'That if their king had sent him any presents, he also was a king, and that was his land: that he would stay eight days to receive them: that Newport ought to come to him, and not he to go to their fort, which was too foolish a bait to be taken: that as to the Manakins, he could revenge his own wrongs; and for any salt water beyond the mountains, he told him, that all the relations they had received from his people were false.' Whereupon he began to draw plots upon the ground, according to his discourse, of all those regions. Many other complimental discourses passed between them; and so Smith returned with his answer to Jamestown.

"Hereupon the presents were sent round by water, and the captains went across by land, with a guard of fifty men. All being met at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for his coronation. Then the presents were brought; his bason and ewer, bed and furniture, were set up; and his scarlet cloak and apparel,

with much ado, put on him, being persuaded by Namontack that they would not hurt him. But a great coil and trouble there was to make him kneel, to receive his crown. He neither knew the majesty of a crown, nor the meaning of bending the knee, which obliged them to use so many persuasions, examples and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he stooped a little, and three, being ready with the crown, put it on his head; when, by the warning of a pistol, the boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the king started up in a horrible fright, till he saw all was well. Then recollecting himself, to return their kindness, he gave his old shoes and mantle to Captain Newport; and finding him determined to discover the Manakins, he did his utmost to divert him from his purpose, and refused to lend him either men or guides, except Namontack. And so, after some slight compliments on both sides, in requital for his presents, he gave Newport a heap of ears of corn, which might contain seven or eight bushels, and much more was purchased in the town, with which they returned to the fort at Jamestown.

"Immediately upon their return, Captain Newport, with an hundred and twenty chosen men, led by Captain Waldo, Lieutenant Percy, Captain Wynne, Mr. West, and Mr. Scrivener, set forward for the discovery of the Manakins; leaving the president at the fort, with eighty or ninety weak and sickly men, to load the ship. Arriving at the falls, they marched by land

about forty miles, and found a very fair, fertile, well-watered country. Two towns of the Manakins they discovered, situate on the south side of the river. The people used them neither well nor ill; yet, for their security, they took one of their petty kings, and led him bound, to conduct them the way. In their return, they spent some time in searching for mines, having with them one William Callicut, a refiner, for that purpose. From the crust of earth, which they dug, he persuaded them that he extracted some small quantity of silver. With this poor trial, they returned down the same path they went to the falls; where the Indians feigned that many ships were come into the bay to kill the English at Jamestown. But as for their corn, they hid it in the woods, and could by no means be induced to trade. And being thus deluded and disappointed, they returned to Jamestown, half sick, and all complaining, being sadly harassed with toil, famine and discontent.

"No sooner were they landed, but the president dispersed as many as were able, some to make glass, and others for pitch, tar, and soap-ashes. Leaving them at the fort, under the council's care and oversight, he himself carried thirty about five miles down the river, to learn to cut down trees, make clapboard, and lie in the woods. Among these he chose Gabriel Beadle and John Russell, two fine and proper gentlemen of the last supply. These were, at first, strange diversions for men of pleasure. Yet they all lodged, eat and drank, worked or

played, only as the president himself did; and all things were carried so pleasantly, that within a week they became masters, and thirty or forty of such voluntary gentlemen would have done more in a day, than an hundred of the rest, who must be driven to it by compulsion. Being inured to labour by these means, they soon made it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell; and afterwards became very hardy, useful, and resolute men, especially Mr. Russel. But the axes often blistering their tender fingers, they would, at every third stroke, drown the echo, with a loud volley of oaths; to remedy which sin, the president ordered every man's oaths to be numbered, and, at night, for every oath, to have a can of water poured down his sleeve; which so washed and drenched the offender that, in a short time, an oath was not heard in a week.

"In the mean while, Mr. Scrivener, Captain Waldo, and Captain Wynne, at the fort, each, in their several way, carefully regarded their charge. But when the president returned, seeing the time consumed, and no provision got, and that the ship lay idle at a great charge, and did nothing, he immediately embarked in the discovery barge, taking with him eighteen men and another boat, and leaving orders with the council to send Lieutenant Percy after him, with the next barge that arrived at the fort. Going into Chickahominy, the Indians were surly, and knowing his wants, with much scorn and insolence, refused to trade. But the president, per-

ceiving it was Powhatan's policy to starve the English, told them that he came not so much for corn, as to revenge his own captivity and the death of his two men; which he pretended to attribute to them. And so landing his men, and making ready to charge them, they immediately fled. Soon after, they sent ambassadors with corn, fish, fowl, and whatever else they had, to make their peace. Their corn being that year but bad, they complained extremely of their own wants, yet freighted their boats with an hundred bushels, and in like manner Lieutenant Percy's, that not long after arrived. Returning to Jamestown, the colony was much pleased and revived by this seasonable supply. Yet such was the malice and envy of some, that they had rather hazard a starving, than that Smith's endeavors should prove so much more effectual than theirs. And Newport and Ratcliffe had projected, not only to depose him, but to keep him out of the fort, under pretence that, being president, he had left his place and the fort without their consent. But their horns were too short, and they themselves narrowly escaped a greater mischief.

"All this while, their old tavern, the ship, made as much of all them that had either money or ware as could be desired. By this time, they were become perfect on all sides, the sailors, the soldiers, and the Indians; and much more care was taken to maintain their private and pernicious trade, than to provide things necessary for the colony. Newport and his mariners had so many private factors at the fort, that in six

or seven weeks, of two or three hundred axes, hoes, pick-axes, and other instruments for the use of the colony, scarce twenty could be found; and for pike-heads, powder, shot, or any thing else they could steal, they knew well how to convey them secretly to trade with the Indians for furs, baskets, young beasts, and other such-like commodities. So that, although Virginia afforded no commodities for those who were at the expense of the settlement, yet these men found means, by these indirect methods, of driving on a very profitable trade. And thus, by their false excuses, informations, and advices in England, and by their unlawful trade here, the adventurers were cozened, and the action almost overthrown. Upon this account, therefore, as well as under pretence that his orders were not to return without a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea, or one of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost company, the president had once determined to send away the ship, and to oblige Newport to stay one year in the country, to learn to speak of his own experience. But upon his submission and acknowledgment, this punishment was remitted, and he was suffered to return to England in the ship, where, it is not to be doubted, but that he represented matters in the worst light.

"It is certain, that the treasurer and council in England were greatly disappointed in their hopes. For they expected, upon their discoveries in America, to have speedy returns in gold and silver, and such other rich commodities as the Spaniards found at their first arrival. * * *

But however free they might be from blame, the council in England were certainly very much fretted with the disappointment, and by this ship wrote the president a very angry letter. They complained of the vain hopes they had been fed with, and very small proofs; and of their factions and silly projects about dividing the country, concerning which the late president and his faction had written some idle story to the earl of Salisbury, at that time chief minister of state. And they threatened, unless the charge of this voyage, amounting to about two thousand pounds, was defrayed by the ship's return, they should be deserted, and left to remain here as banished men. To this letter Captain Smith gave a very plain and soldierly answer by the ship, which was at length dispatched, with the trials of pitch, tar, glass, frankincense, and soap-ashes, and with what wainscot and clapboard could be provided."*

As a document well worthy preservation for all time, and as a matter of justice to the character of the writer, we copy *verbatim* this manly vindication from the mean aspersions of his enemies:

"RIGHT HONORABLE, &c.: I received your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set vpon faction, and idle conceits in diuiding the Country without your consents, and that we feed *You* but with ifs and ands, hopes, and some few proofes; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to our

* Stith's History of Virginia.

selues: and that we must expressly follow your instructions sent by Captain *Newport:* the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are alike to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly entreat your pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer.

"For our factions, vnlesse you would haue me run away and leaue the Country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter sent to my Lord of *Salisbury*, by the President and his confederats, for diuiding the Country, &c. What it was I know not, for you saw no hand of mine to it; nor euer dream't I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no scholer, I am past a schoole-boy; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here doe know, but that I haue learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I haue not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare some cause you to beleeue much more then is true.

"Expressly to follow your directions by Captaine *Newport*, though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our Commission, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of vs all; which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Onely Captaine *Winne* and Captaine *Waldo* I haue sworne of the Councell, and Crowned *Powhatan* according to your instructions.

"For the charge of this voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we haue not receiued the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, *Newport* had 120 of the best men he could chuse. If he had

burnt her to ashes, one might haue carried her in a bag, but as she is, fiue hundred cannot, to a navigable place aboue the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold; or any of them sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh:* at our Consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirtie myles, (which might as well haue beene done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a seasonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to serue the Fort. In their absence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Sopeashes, Clapboord, whereof some small quantities we haue sent you. But if you rightly consider, what an infinite toyle it is in *Russia* and *Swethland*, where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beast in those ancient Common-wealths, which many an hundred yeares haue vsed it, yet thousands of those poore people can scarce get necessaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from vs any such matter, which are but as many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get wherewith to liue, and defend our selues against the inconstant *Salvages:* finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things els the *Russians* haue. For the Coronation of *Powhatan*, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this giue me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your ships arrivall, the *Salvages* harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our owne not being

halfe sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships loading of Corne *Newport* promised to provide vs from *Powhatan*, he brought us but fourteene Bushels; and from the *Monacans* nothing, but the most of the men sicke and neare famished. From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to liue vpon this: the one halfe sicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wilde, and we so weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine *Newport* we much suspect to be the Author of those inventions Now that you should know I haue made you as great a discovery as he, for lesse charge then he spendeth you every meale; I haue sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large.* Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good Iron ore at the least; so divided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them. The Souldiers say many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you sent vs: and that *Newport* hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every master you haue yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pounds might be spared, which is more then we haue all, that helps to pay him wages. Cap. *Ratliffe* is now called *Sicklemore*, a poore counterfeited Imposture. I haue sent you

* Such was the accuracy of this map, that it was, for about two centuries, the original from which all later maps and descriptions were copied.

him home, least the company should cut his throat. —What he is, now every one can tell you; if he and *Archer* returne againe, they are sufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions. When you send againe I entreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers vp of trees' roots, well provided, then a thousand of such as we haue: for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for any thing. Thus if you please to consider this account, and the vnnecessary wages to Captaine *Newport*, or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leaue vs victuals for 12 moneths, though we had 89 by this discovery lame and sicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to giue him three hogsheads of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to send into *Germany* or *Poleland* for glassemen and the rest, till we be able to sustaine ourselues, and releeue them when they come. It were better to giue fiue hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in *Denmarke*, then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in overtoyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selues from one Supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let vs know what we should receive, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leaue vs what they please, els you may charge vs what you will, but we not you with any thing. These are the causes that haue kept vs in *Virginia* from laying such a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes: so I humbly rest."

CHAPTER XI.

Famine---Desperate Efforts to procure Supplies---First Marriage in America---House for Powhatan---Smith and others embark on an Adventurous Expedition---Christmas spent among the Indians---Arrival at Werowocomoco---Interview of Smith and Powhatan---Treachery of the Germans---Crafty Speech of Powhatan---Jeopardy of Smith and his Companions---Duplicity of the Indians---Pocahontas warns Smith of his Danger: his Vigilance: Departure---Arms stolen by the Germans for Powhatan---Arrival of Smith at Pamunkey---Deception of Opechancanough---Smith challenges him to Single Combat---Seizes him, and obtains his Demands---Serious Accident at Jamestown---Smith's Return ---Disorderly State of Affairs---German Deserters detected ---Encounter of Smith and Paspahey: Escape of the latter, and Subsequent Meeting---Indian Oratory---Compact for Peace.

The departure of Newport and his ship was hailed as a great relief by the judicious portion of the settlers, who had long been entertaining apprehensions of famine, and now sedulously set to work to avert that calamity. Mr. Scrivener who had previously been sent to Werowocomoco on a trading voyage, found the Indians "more ready to fight than to trade;" but his vigilance disconcerted their plots, and he obtained three or four hogsheads of corn, with which he returned to Jamestown. He soon after accompanied the president and Captain Wynne to Nansamond, which nation at first denied "not only the four hundred baskets of corn they had promised, but any trade at all. They excused themselves on account of their corn's being almost spent, and because they

were commanded by the double-dealing Powhatan to keep what was left, and not to let the English even enter their river. The president, finding nothing was to be done in the way of peace, resolved to use force. At the first onset, the Indians all fled, without shooting an arrow. Then marching up to their houses, they set fire to the first they came to. When the Indians perceived that, they offered, if they would make no more spoil, to give them half the corn they had. Accordingly, before night, they loaded their three boats; and for sparing them this year, they promised to plant corn purposely for them the next. With this they returned to Jamestown, about the time that John Laydon was married to Anne Burras; which was the first Christian marriage that ever was in Virginia. But Smith staid not long at the fort. For he fitted himself and Captain Waldo out immediately with two barges, and made a voyage up the river. From Wyanoake, and all parts thereabouts, he found the Indians fled; and therefore hasting up higher, he then first discovered the river and people of Appamatox. The little corn they had was equally divided, and the president gave them copper for it, and such other toys as fully satisfied them. At the same time, Mr. Scrivener and Lieutenant Percy went abroad in quest of provisions, but could find nothing.

"About this time, the president was invited by Powhatan to come to him; and he promised to load his ship with corn, provided he would

send some workmen to build him a house, and would give him a grind-stone, fifty swords, some muskets, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads. The president was not ignorant of his devices and subtlety; yet was unwilling to neglect any opportunity of getting provisions, and resolved, sooner than fail, to take him and all his store by surprise. To this end, he took order with Captain Waldo, whom he knew to be sure in time of danger, to second him if need required. But Captain Wynne and Mr. Scrivener did their utmost to hinder their project. For Scrivener's strict friendship with Captain Smith was now much cooled; and he was thought to join with some others in a plot to ruin him in England. But the president, whom no eloquence could persuade to starve, sent off two Englishmen before by land, and four Germans, to build the house for Powhatan against his arrival. And then, having left Mr. Scrivener his substitute, he set forward with the bark and two barges, manned only with such as offered themselves to go voluntarily upon the service. In the discovery-barge went himself, Mr. Ralegh Croshaw, John Russel, and several other gentlemen and soldiers; and Mr. William Phittiplace as captain, Lieutenant Percy, Mr. Francis West, Mr. Robert Ford, clerk of the council, with many others, went on board the bark.

"The 29th of December they left Jamestown, being victualled only for three or four days. That night they lodged at Warrasqueake, where the president got sufficient provision. The king

of that town did his utmost to divert him from seeing Powhatan; but finding he could not prevail, he told them that Powhatan would use them kindly, although he had sent for them only to cut their throats. He therefore advised him not to trust him, and to be sure to give him no opportunity of seizing his arms. The president thanked him for his good counsel; and having obtained guides from him to the Chowanocks, a nation dwelling in the fork of Chowan, between Nottoway and Meherrin rivers, he sent Michael Sicklemore, a very valiant, honest, and painful soldier, with presents to that king; but chiefly to look for silk-grass, and to enquire after Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony. The next night they lodged at Kicquotan, and were detained there six or seven days by the extreme wind, rain, frost, and snow. This obliged them to keep their Christmas among the savages; and they were never more merry in their lives, lodged by better fires, or fed with greater plenty of good bread, oysters, fish, flesh, and wild-fowl. Departing thence, they arrived on the 12th of January, 1609, through various accidents, at Werowocomoco; where they found the river frozen near half a mile from the shore. But the president, running his barge up as far as he could by breaking the ice, was left by the ebb upon the oozy shoals. In this dangerous situation, he plunged first into the river himself; and by his example, taught them to march near middle deep, a flight-shot, near the frozen ooze. When the barge should float, he appointed two

or three to return her aboard the bark, where they soon after came into such distress for want of water, that the river being salt, they were obliged to make fresh water by melting the ice.

"The president and his company quartered in the next cabins they found, and sent to Powhatan for provisions. He sent them plenty of bread, turkey, and venison; and the next day feasted them after his usual manner. But he pretended he had not sent for them; neither had he any corn, and his people much less; and soon began to be importunate with them to be gone. But the president confronting him with the persons who brought the message, he endeavored to put the matter off with a laugh, and asked for his commodities. But he liked nothing except guns and swords, and valued a basket of corn higher than a basket of copper; saying, he could rate his corn, but not the copper. Captain Smith, seeing his intent, told him that had many ways to have got provisions, but relying on his promises, he had neglected all to satisfy his desire, and had sent his men to make his buildings, whilst his own were undone: that he knew he had engrossed his people's corn, and forbid them to trade; thinking, by consuming time, to consume them: that as for swords and guns, he had none to spare; and that he must know those he had could keep him from starving: Yet he would neither rob nor wrong him, nor dissolve that friendship they had mutually promised, unless constrained to it by bad usage. The king listened attentively to this discourse; and promised

that both he and his people should spare him what they could, and that they should receive it within two days. 'But,' says he, 'I have some doubt about the reason of your coming hither. I am informed from many hands that you come, not to trade, but to invade my people, and to possess my country. This makes me less ready to relieve you, and frightens my people from bringing in their corn. And therefore, to ease them of that fear, leave your arms aboard, since they are needless here, where we are all friends, and for ever Powhatans.'

"In these, and many such insidious discourses, that day was spent. But Captain Smith afterwards discovered that the Germans whom he had sent to build Powhatan's house, finding his plenty and the wants of the English, and thinking it scarce possible that they could escape both him and famine, had, to gain his favor, revealed to him all they knew of the state and designs of the English, and advised him how to counteract and prevent them. And this treachery was the more odious and unsuspected, because the president had placed one of them as a spy upon Powhatan, being a man of judgment and resolution, and therefore thought most proper for that employ. And as he was sure of his wages for his labor, and had ever been well used, both he and his countrymen, there was at that time little doubt concerning his honesty. But whilst they expected the coming in of the country, they wrangled Powhatan out of eighty bushels of corn for a copper kettle; which the president

seeing him much affect, he told him it was of much greater value, yet in regard of his scarcity, he would accept that quantity at present, provided he should have as much more the next year, or the Manakin country. Both being satisfied with the condition, Powhatan began to expostulate the difference of peace and war, with Captain Smith, after this manner:

"He told him, with a vanity usual to persons who affect to be thought very old, that he had seen the death of all his people thrice; and that not one of these three generations was then living, except himself: That he knew the difference of peace and war better than any in his country; That he was now grown old, and must die soon; and that the succession must descend, in order, to his brothers, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and then to his two sisters, and their two daughters. He wished their experience was equal to his; and that Smith's love to them might be no less than his to Smith. He asked him why he would take that by force, which he might quickly have by love? Why he would destroy them that provided him food? and what he could get by war? For they could hide their provisions, and fly into the woods; and then he must consequently famish by wronging his friends. He desired to know the reason of his jealousy, since he saw them unarmed, and willing to supply his wants, if he would come in a friendly manner, and not with swords and guns, as to invade an enemy. And he told him that he was not so

simple as not to know it was better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with his women and children; to laugh and be merry with the English, and, being their friend, to have copper, hatchets, and whatever else he wanted; than to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and such trash, and to be so hunted, that he could neither rest, eat, or sleep. In that circumstance, his tired men must watch, and if a twig did but break, all would be crying out, 'Here comes Captain Smith!' and so, in this miserable manner to end his miserable life; which might likewise soon be Captain Smith's fate too, through his rashness and unadvisedness. He therefore earnestly exhorted him to peaceable counsels; and, above all, insisted that the guns and swords—the grand cause of their jealousy and uneasiness—should be removed and sent away.

"To this crafty discourse the president replied: That it was the fashion of the English always to wear their arms like their clothes; and that they would, by no means, part with them: that his people came frequently to Jamestown, and were entertained with their bows and arrows without any exceptions: that if the English had intended him any hurt, they could long since have effected it, as was evident to him and all the world, especially considering the superiority of their arms: that although revenge was always in their power, yet, out of an inclination to mercy and friendship, they passed over the daily violations of the

peace by his subjects: and as to hiding his provisions, and flying into the woods, he told him they should not so unadvisedly starve as he imagined. For they had a rule to find things hidden, beyond his knowledge. After much more discourse, they at last began to trade. But the king, seeing that his will would not be admitted as a law, and that Smith was obstinate not to dismiss his guard or disarm his men, breathed out his mind once more in this manner, with a sigh:

"'Captain Smith, I never use any werowance so kindly as yourself; yet from you I receive the least kindness of any. Captain Newport gave me swords, copper, clothes, or whatever else I desired, ever accepting what I offered him; and would send away the guns when requested. No one refuses to lie at my feet, or do what I demand, but you only. Of you I can have nothing but what you value not, and yet you will have whatsoever you please. Captain Newport you call father, and so you call me; but I see, in spite of us both, you will do what you will, and we must both study to humor and content you. But if you intend so friendly as you say, send away your arms. For you see my undesigning simplicity and friendship cause me thus nakedly to forget myself.'

"The president, perceiving that this barbarian only trifled the time to cut his throat, resolved to treat him in his own way. He therefore procured the Indians to break the ice, that his boat might come to fetch him and his corn; and

at the same time gave order for more men to come ashore, to surprise the king. In the mean while, to protract the time, he endeavored to entertain him with much specious and fallacious discourse, promising the next day to quit his arms, and to show, by trusting to his word, that he loved and confided in him as a father. But whilst the ice was breaking, Powhatan conveyed himself away, with his women, children, and luggage. Yet, to avoid suspicion, he left two or three of his women talking with the president, whilst he secretly ran off, and his men as secretly beset the house; which being presently discovered, the president issued forth with his pistol, sword and target. At his first shot, those next him tumbled one over another; and the rest fled nimbly off, some one way, some another. And thus, without any hurt, only accompanied with Mr. John Russel, he reached the main body of his men. But when the Indians perceived him so well escaped, they used their utmost art to excuse and dissemble the matter. Powhatan sent him a great bracelet and chain of pearl, by an ancient orator, who told him that their emperor was fled for fear of his guns: that knowing, when the ice was open, there would come more men ashore, he had sent those numbers whom he had assaulted only to guard his corn from being stole, which might happen without the president's knowledge: that although some were hurt by his mistake, yet Powhatan was still his friend, and for ever would continue so. And he desired, since the ice was open, that he

would send away his corn; and, if he expected his company, that he would also send away his guns, which so frighted his people, that they were afraid to bring in their corn as he had promised they should. And then baskets being provided for the English to carry their corn to the boats, those Indians kindly offered their service to guard their arms lest they should be stolen. There was a great number of goodly, well-proportioned fellows, painted and grimmed like devils. But the very sight of the English cocking their matches, and being ready to charge, made them quit their bows and arrows at command to the guard, and carry down the corn upon their backs. And there was no occasion to importune them to make dispatch.

"But Powhatan and the Germans were still eager to have the head of Captain Smith. For if they could but kill him, they thought all would be their own. And therefore, the English being staid by the ebb till late within night, the king spent his time in making ready his forces to surprise the house and him at supper. But Pocahontas. in a very dark and dismal night, came alone through the woods, and told the president that great cheer would be sent them soon; but that Powhatan, with all the power he could make, would come after to kill them all, if those who brought the victuals could not effect it with their own arms while they were at supper. And therefore, as they tendered their lives she advised them to be gone. The president would have given her such things as he knew she de-

lighted in; but, with tears running down her cheeks, she refused them, saying she durst not be seen to have any of them; for should her father know it, it would be certain and immediate death to her. And so she ran away by herself as she came. Within less than an hour after came eight or ten lusty fellows, with large platters of venison and other victuals, and they were very importunate with the English to put out their matches, pretending their smoke made them sick. But the president made them taste of every dish; and then sent some of them back to Powhatan, to bid him make haste, for he was ready for his coming. Soon after came more messengers, to see what news; and not long after them, others. And thus was the time spent, with equal vigilancy on both sides, but without any further hurt. At high water the English departed; but, to oblige Powhatan, they left him, at his request, Edward Brynton to kill him fowl, and the Germans, who were yet unsuspected, to finish his house.

"They had no sooner set sail, but Powhatan returned, and sent two of the Germans to Jamestown. They pretended to Captain Wynne that all things were well, and that the president had occasion for their arms; and therefore they desired new ones, with some spare tools, and shift of apparel, all which were readily granted them. During their loitering there, by the promise of Powhatan's favor, and of an exemption from the miseries which would certainly happen to the colony, they drew over to their confederacy six

or seven more, such expert thieves, as presently furnished them with fifty swords, eight muskets, eight pikes, and powder and shot, which were speedily conveyed away by Indians at hand for that purpose. The other German Powhatan kept as a pledge, whose diligence provided him with three hundred tomahawks, or Indian hatchets. In the mean time, Edward Brynton and Thomas Savage, seeing the Germans so diligent to accommodate the Indians with arms, attempted to make their escape to Jamestown. But they were apprehended and brought back, and expected every minute to be put to death.

"The president and the rest, being arrived at Pamunkey, were entertained some days by the king, with great feasting and mirth. The day appointed to begin their trade, he went ashore with Lieutenant Percy, Mr. West, Mr. Russel, Mr. Behethland, Mr. Croshaw, Mr. Powel, Mr. Ford and others, to the number of fifteen; and going up to Opechancanough's house, a quarter of a mile from the river, they found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses round abandoned and stripped of every thing. They stayed not long before the king came, and after him several of his people loaded with bows and arrows. But their commodities were so trifling, and those held at such a rate, that the president began with the king, and said, that the professions of his tongue were proved by his actions to be mere deceit: that last year he kindly freighted his vessel, but had now treacherously invited him, with a view to famish and

destroy him: that as the king was not ignorant of his wants, so neither was he of the king's plenty, of which, by some means, he must have part. And he told him it was highly proper and decent for kings, above all others, to keep their promise. And therefore, showing his commodities, he offered him his choice, and the rest, he said, he would proportion in fit bargains for his people. Opechancanough seemed kindly to accept his offer; and the better to color his designs sold them what they had at their own price, promising the next day more company better provided.

"The next day, the president, with the same fifteen, marched up to the king's house, where they found four or five men newly arrived, with each a great basket. Soon after came the king, and putting on a strained cheerfulness he entertained them in discourse, about the great pains he had been taking to keep his promise, till Mr. Russel brought in news that at least seven hundred Indians, well armed, had environed the house, and beset the fields. The president, seeing some of the company greatly dismayed at the thought of such a multitude, told them that he was less concerned at the danger and number of the enemy, than at the malicious representations which the council and their open-mouthed minions would make to England of his breaking the peace: that he alone was once assaulted by three hundred; and had it not been for an accident, would have made his way good among them all; that they were now sixteen, and the

enemy but seven hundred at the most. And therefore he desired them to fight like men, and not die like sheep. For if they dared to follow his example, and to do as he did, he doubted not, by God's assistance, to extricate them out of the present difficulty and danger. The time not permitting any argument, they all cheerfully vowed to execute whatever he attempted or die. But that they might not fight for nothing, or be even ruined and starved by their victory, the president told Opechancanough that he saw his plot to murder him, but he feared it not: that their men had done no harm but by their directions: that therefore, if each of his men would bring a basket of corn, he would stake against it the value in copper, and they two would go over into the island in the river against that place, and decide the matter by single combat: that he should have his choice, and all advantage of weapons: and that the conqueror should have all, and be lord and master over all their men.

"But duelling in the fair and open field is not the manner of the Indians. Their chief valor consists in way-laying and murdering the unsuspecting and unprovided, or perhaps the weak and helpless. Neither had Opechancanough such regard for the lives of his subjects, as to save them from danger at the hazard of his own. He therefore kindly endeavored to appease the president's anger and suspicion by a present at the door, which he entreated him to accept. This was only to draw him out, where the bait was guarded with two hundred men, besides

thirty which lay behind a great tree, fallen across, with each his arrow notched, ready to shoot. But the president, having discovered the treachery, seized the king, in the midst of his men, by his long lock of hair, and presented his pistol, ready cocked, to his breast. Thus he led him, trembling and half dead with fear, among his people, who were easily induced to throw down their arms, and to deliver the king's vambrace, [shield] bow, and arrows; little dreaming that any one durst to use their king in that manner. And now Opechancanough, to rescue himself, bestowed his presents in serious sadness, and his subjects, being upbraided and threatened by the president in a smart and angry speech, mixed with some expressions of love and confidence, cast away their bows and arrows, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities. For two or three hours they so thronged and wearied him, that he retired into the house to rest, leaving others to trade and receive their presents. Whilst he was asleep, fifty of their choice men, with each an English sword or club in his hand, and seconded by two or three hundred more, pressed into the house to murder him. But the president, being waked from his sleep by the noise of the people and shaking of the house, betook himself to his arms, together with Mr. Croshaw and some others, which soon made them throng back faster than they came. But Opechancanough and some of his ancients, who were kept prisoners with him, endeavored, in a long oration, to excuse this intrusion. The

rest of the day was spent with much kindness, the Indians renewing their presents, and feasting the English with their best provisions.

"While these things were transacting, there happened an unlucky accident at the fort. Mr. Scrivener had received letters from England, which gave him towering thoughts, and made him decline entirely in his affection and friendship to Captain Smith, who still regarded and loved him as his brother. This made him more headstrong and conceited than was naturally consistent with his prudence and moderation; and having taken it into his head to visit Hog-Island, he could not be turned from it by the advice and repeated entreaties of Captain Waldo and several others. Therefore, taking with him Captain Waldo, who was not to be absent from the fort, but to be ready to second the president, if called for, and Mr. Anthony Gosnold, a very worthy, honest, and industrious gentleman, and brother to Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, with eight others, he went into the skiff. She was so overloaded that she scarce could have lived in calm weather; but, in that cold and boisterous day, she sunk, none knowing how or where, and all aboard were drowned. To advertise the president of this heavy news, none could be got, till Mr. Richard Wyffin undertook it alone. He was encountered with many dangers and difficulties in all places as he passed. And at Werowocomoco, not finding the president, and perceiving such preparations for war, he was certainly assured that some mischief was intended.

But Pocahontas hid him for a time, and sent those who pursued him quite the contrary way. At length by her means and extraordinary bribes and trouble, in three-day's travel he found the president at Pamunkey, in the midst of those broils and difficulties. The president, having sworn him to conceal this unhappy news from the company, and dissembling his sorrow with the best countenance he could, went safely aboard at night, and left Opechancanough at liberty according to his promise, and likewise with a design the better to entrap Powhatan in his return. Soon after he went down the river, having searched the countries of Youghtanund (now Pamunkey River) and Mattaponey, where the poor creatures imparted the little corn they had, with such complaints and tears from the eyes of women and children as fully satisfied and moved them with compassion.

"Powhatan had threatened death to his men if they did not, by some means or other, kill Captain Smith; but they hated fighting with him almost as bad as hanging; and the president, on his side, was as eager to surprise and take that subtle and perfidious barbarian. Therefore, in his way down the river, there were many feints and stratagems on both parts, but without any remarkable effect: only the president, with Mr. West, and some others, would have been poisoned, had their art been equal to their will. It only made them sick, and so worked itself off. And thus, through many dangers and difficulties, they returned to Jamestown, where they deliv-

ered near 200 lbs. of deer's suet, and 479 bushels of corn to the cape merchant.

"At Jamestown they found nothing done, but their provisions spent, and a great part of their tools and arms conveyed to the Indians. But although what was left by the ship was so rotten with the rain, and so mangled by the rats and worms, that the hogs would scarcely eat it; yet, upon casting up their store, they found a sufficient provision for the year. Wherefore, the fear of starving being laid aside, the company was ranged into proper divisions, and six hours each day spent in work, the rest in pastime and merry exercises. And the president, having called them together, told them that their late experience and misery were sufficient to persuade every one to a present amendment: that they must not think that either his pains or the adventurers' purses would for ever maintain them in sloth and idleness: that he knew many deserved more honor and a better reward than was yet to be had; but that far the greater part of them must be more industrious or starve: that it was not reasonable that the labors of thirty or forty honest and industrious men should be consumed to maintain an hundred and fifty loiterers: and that therefore every one that would not work should not eat; that they had often been screened and protected in their disobedience to his just and necessary commands, by the authority of the council: but that now, all being either dead or gone except Captain Wynne and himself, that whole power rested, in

effect, solely in him. And therefore he advised them not to feed themselves up with the vain presumption that his authority was but a shadow, and that his life must answer for theirs. For the letters patent and other powers would prove the contrary; and should every week be read to them, and every one that offended might assuredly expect his due punishment. He also made a table as a public memorial of each man's deserts, to encourage the good and to spur on the rest by shame. By this many became very industrious; but more were driven to their business by punishment, and the president's extraordinary vigor and diligence.

"As they came down Pamunkey (since called York River) off Werowocomoco, the president had sent Mr. Croshaw and Mr. Ford to Jamestown by land. In their way, they met four or five of the Germans' confederates going to Powhatan; who, to clear themselves from those gentlemen's suspicion that they were running to the Indians, returned with them to the fort and there continued. But the Germans, to know the reason of their stay, sent one of their company, a stout young fellow, disguised like an Indian, to the glass-house. This stood in the woods, about a mile from Jamestown, and was the common place of rendezvous for all their secret villany. The president, hearing of this, immediately sent to apprehend this German. But he being gone, he dispatched twenty good shot after, to intercept him in his return to Powhatan. They soon brought him back, and notwithstand-

ing his fair tale and plausible excuses, he was thrown into prison. However, the president spared his life, hoping thereby to regain his countrymen.

"Captain Smith, having sent all his men after the German, returned from the glass-house alone, armed only with a faucheon. In his way he met the king of Paspahey, a man of great strength and gigantic stature. At first he endeavored to draw the president into his ambuscade; but failing in that, he attempted to shoot him; but Smith, to prevent it, closed in and grappled with him; and the Indian, by mere dint of strength, bore him into the river, with a design to drown him. Long they struggled in the water, till the president got such hold of his throat that he almost strangled him. And then, having disengaged himself, so as to draw his faucheon, the poor savage begged his life in such a pitiful manner, that he led him to Jamestown, and put him into chains, where he continued for some time, till by the negligence of his keepers he escaped. Some endeavors were used to retake him, but without effect; only the president took two Indians prisoners, Kemps and Tussore, the two most exquisite villains in all the country. These men would have betrayed both king and kindred for a piece of copper; and had Captain Wynne and Lieutenant Percy, who were sent upon the business with fifty men, followed their directions, they would certainly have regained the king, and been fully revenged for the injury and assault. However,

that this might not encourage them to farther boldness, they attacked and slew several of the nation, burnt their houses, took their canoes and fishing weirs, and planted some of them at Jamestown, and were resolved to prosecute them with war till they were fully humbled and subdued.

"Not long after, the president passing to Paspahey, in his way to Chickahominy, was assaulted by them. But as soon as they knew him, they all threw down their arms and sued for peace. Their spokesman was a lusty young fellow, named Okaning, whose discourse well deserves to be remembered. He told the president, that the king, his master, was there present in the company: that they took him for Captain Wynne, who pursued them in war, although they had never injured him: that if the king offended him in escaping from prison, he ought to consider, that the fishes swim, the fowls fly, and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and live: that therefore, his master, who was a man, ought not to be blamed for following this necessary instinct of nature, even in brute animals. He reminded him of the pains his master took to save his life when a prisoner; and if he had since injured him he was compelled to it, and it had, however, been already fully revenged to their too great loss. And he further told him, if he still persisted in his resolution to destroy them, they must abandon their habitations, and settle somewhere beyond his reach, which would only cost them

more labor, but would be of worse consequence to the English, who could not well subsist without their corn and fruits. And therefore he earnestly entreated him to grant them his friendship, and to permit them to enjoy their houses, and plant their fields in peace and security. Concluding that if he would promise them peace, they would trust to his word; but if he proceeded in his revenge, they would quit the country. Whereupon the president promised them peace, if they would do no further injury, and would bring in provisions to the fort; to which they joyfully agreed, and parted good friends,"* and so continued till Smith left the country.

CHAPTER XII.

Effects of Smith's Intrepidity—Benefits of some Pretended Miracles—Encouraging Spirit of the Settlers—Ravages of the Rats—New Quarters necessary for Subsistence—Evils of Insolence again Prevalent—Deserters returned by the Indians—Expedition to the Mangoags: their Friendship—Villany of Volday—Indignation of the People—Course of Powhatan—Arrival of Argall.

The intrepidity of Smith struck a dread into the savages, and they began to believe what he had often told them, that, "his God would protect him against all their power, whilst he kept his promise; which was to preserve peace with them as long as they should refrain from hostili-

* Stith's History of Virginia.

ties, and continue to supply him with corn."—An incident which occurred about the same time, confirmed their veneration for him. An Indian having stolen a pistol from Jamestown, two brothers who were known to be his companions were seized, and one was held as hostage for the other, who was to return in twelve hours with the pistol, or the prisoner was to be hanged. The weather being cold, a charcoal fire was kindled in the dungeon, which was very close, and the vapor had so suffocated the prisoner, that on the return of his brother at the appointed time, with the pistol, he was taken out as dead. The faithful savage lamented his fate in the most distressing agony. Smith, to console him, promised, if they would steal no more, that he should be recovered. On the application of spirits and vinegar, he showed signs of life, but appeared delirious; this grieved the brother as much as his death. Smith undertook to cure him of this also, on the repetition of the promise to steal no more. The delirium being only the effect of the spirits which he had swallowed, was remedied by a few hours' sleep; and being dismissed, with a present of copper, they went away, believing and reporting that Smith was able *to bring the dead to life.*

On another occasion, an Indian at Werowocomoco, who had stolen a large bag of powder, attempted to display his skill among his companions by drying it over a fire on the back of a piece of armour, as he had seen the soldiers do at Jamestown. Many stood peeping over his shoulder to watch his operations, when it sud-

denly exploded; killing him and two more, and badly scorching and mangling several others. This was a source of no less dread than astonishment, as it was wholly attributed to the power and art of the English; and, coupled with other occurrences equally beyond their comprehension, so frightened Powhatan and his people, that they flocked from all parts, returning many stolen articles which had never been demanded, or even missed, and proffering all sorts of presents to secure their peace.

During the remainder of Smith's administration (so punctilious was Powhatan in sending all thieves to Jamestown for punishment, and so great was their fear of detection by means of the English *sorcerers*), robberies were of rare occurrence, and the whole country became as free and safe to the settlers as to the Indians. In fact, the right spirit seemed to pervade all the operations then undertaken, which were pursued for a time with alacrity and success. "They made three or four last of tar, pitch, and soap-ashes; produced a trial of glass; sunk a well in the fort, of excellent water, which till then was much wanted; built about twenty houses; newly covered the church; provided nets and weirs for fishing; and, to stop the disorders of the thieves and Indians, they built a block-house in the neck of the island to receive the trade of the Indians; and none, neither Indian nor Christian, was suffered to pass or repass without the president's order. Thirty or forty acres of ground were broke up and planted. Of three sows, in

eighteen months, increased sixty odd pigs; and near five hundred chickens brought up themselves, without having any thing given them. But the hogs were transported to Hog-island; where also was built a blockhouse, with a garrison, to give notice of any ships; and for their exercise at leisure times, they made clapboard and wainscot. In this time died Captain Wynne; so that the government devolved wholly upon the president, as it had before in effect done by his having two voices in the council.

"But this flow of plenty and prosperity lasted not long; for, upon examination, they found half their corn rotten, and the rest consumed by rats; which, coming originally from the ships, had increased to incredible multitudes; so that all works were intermitted, and the people sufficiently employed to get provisions. But at first the Indians, to express their love, brought in an hundred a-day at least of squirrels, turkies, deer, and other wild beasts; and Powhatan spared them near half his stock of corn. But the president was nevertheless obliged to detach sixty or eighty down the river, to live upon oysters. Twenty were sent to the falls with Mr. West; and as many more with Lieutenant Percy to Point Comfort, to try for a fishery. But he being very sick, and sorely burnt with gunpowder, they would not agree in six weeks once to cast their net. Many were billetted among the neighbouring Indians, who knew that they had such a commanding power at Jamestown, that they durst not wrong them in the least.

And in all this time of distress, they caught more sturgeon than could be devoured by man and dog. This the industrious, drying and pounding, would mingle with cavaire, sorrel, and wholesome herbs, and make bread and good meat. Others would gather as much tuckahoe-root in a day, as would make them bread for a week, so that upon these wild products, and what they caught, the diligent lived very well and plentifully.

"Yet such was the insufferable sloth and unreasonable perverseness of far the greater number, that they would sooner have perished than have been at the pains to gather food; and they were even importunate with the president to sell their tools and iron—nay, their swords and firelocks, and their very houses and ordnance—to the Indians for this trash. And they took occasion from hence, in a very turbulent and clamorous manner, to insist on the necessity of leaving the country. But the president, having punished one of the worst and most seditious among them, called the rest together, and represented to them the extreme folly and iniquity of their proceedings; and he told them that if any more were found attempting to run away to Newfoundland with the bark, they might assuredly expect the gallows as their fate: that he never had more from the store than the worst of them; for they well knew and saw that his extraordinary allowance as president was constantly distributed among the sick: and, since he found necessity had not power to force them to gather the fruits of the

earth, he was resolved that they should gather, not only for themselves, but also for the sick; and that whosoever should not gather every day as much as he himself did, should the next day be set beyond the river, and banished from the fort as a drone. This order raised a great clamor and outcry; but it made most of them bestir themselves so well, that they had plenty of food to eat, and continued very healthy and strong. Yet many of them, understanding how well they were used that were billetted among the Indians, ran away to Kemps and Tussore, their old prisoners. But Kemps first made himself sport with them, showing his countrymen how he was used when a prisoner, and feeding them upon this condition, that they who would not work, should not eat; and then he carried them back by force to the president.

"This deterred many others who intended to follow; and made them content rather to labor at home than venture among the Indians. For the kings and better sort of that people were so afraid, or so friendly, that when the English punished some of their baser sort with great severity, they would hire them not to tell it to their kings or countrymen, lest they should punish them again, and send them to Jamestown, to give full satisfaction to the president.

"About this time, Mr. Sicklemore returned from Chawanock; but without any information of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost company, or satisfactory account of the silk-grass; and the president, to pursue a point thought so necessary by

the council in England, sent off Mr. Nathaniel Powell and Anas Todkill to the Mangoags, a nation of Indians, not subject to Powhatan, dwelling on the upper branches of Nottoway, or some small streams of Roanoke river. He obtained guides from the king of the Quiyoughquohanocks, a small nation of Indians, seated on the south side of James river, about ten miles above Jamestown. This good king did ever affect the English above all others; and although he was very zealous to his false gods, yet he confessed that the English God as much exceeded his as their guns did his bow and arrows; and in time of drought, he would often send presents to Captain Smith, to pray to his god for rain. His guides conducted Powell and Todkill, three days' journey, into a high country, towards the south-west, where they saw, here and there, a cornfield, by some little spring or small brook, but no large river. The people were, in all respects, like the rest, except their language. They lived chiefly by hunting, and on fruits and roots; and they trafficked their skins with those towards the sea and fatter countries for dried fish and corn. But neither did they here, or ever after, hear any thing of this colony left by Mr. White in the year 1587, on one of the islands of Hatteras.

"All this while, they employed one William Volday, a Zwitzer, by promises and pardons to reclaim his countrymen, the Germans, and one Bentley, another fugitive. But this vile hypocrite, pretending highly to detest their villany,

hereby got an opportunity to convey them every thing they wanted to effect their projects and destroy their colony. With much devotion they looked for the Spaniard, to whom they were willing and intended to do good service; and finding the English were obliged to disperse themselves to gather food, they importuned Powhatan to lend them his forces; and they undertook, not only to destroy the hogs, fire the town, and seize on the bark, but to bring most of the colony to his service and subjection. This scheme was communicated to many of their confederates at the fort; but two, whose hearts relented at the horror of the act, revealed it to the president. He ordered them to keep it still a secret, and to draw them into such ambuscades as he had prepared. But the thing taking air, and coming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they were outrageous to go and destroy them immediately. Lieutenant Percy and Mr. John Codrington, two gentlemen of high and resolute spirits, offered their service to go to Werowocomoco, and to cut their throats before the face of Powhatan. But the president cared not to hazard such persons, for whom he had other employment; and gave way to Mr. Wyffin and Serjeant Jeffery Abbot, to undertake the matter. But the Germans so blinded Abbot with a fair tale, that he relented; and Wyffin, though willing, cared not to attempt it alone. When Powhatan understood their business, he sent immediately to the president, to inform him that he neither detained them nor

hindered his men from executing his command; for he neither did nor would maintain them, or any other, to his displeasure. But although these treacherous foreigners did all they could to raise and incense Powhatan and the Indians against the English, yet such exact intelligence had Captain Smith of their plots, that their machinations were his greatest advantage and security. And if any commotion had happened, he always had it in his power to take revenge; for all the country now stood more in fear of him than of Powhatan; and he had such parties among the bordering nations that, out of love or fear, they would have done any thing he commanded. However, not long after, one of the Germans returned to his duty, but the other still remained with Powhatan.

"Whilst these things were passing, Captain Samuel Argall arrived, who was afterwards an active person here, and a noted governor of the country. He came to truck with the colony, and to fish for sturgeon, with a ship well furnished with wine and other good provision. This was, at that time, a prohibited trade; but he being a kinsman to Sir Thomas Smith the treasurer, it was connived at and overlooked. The necessities of the colony obliged them to take his provisions, by which his voyage was lost; but they rēvictualled him, when their next supply arrived, and sent him to England with a full account of the state of their affairs. By this ship they received letters, which taxed the president for his hard usage of the natives, and

for not returning the ships freighted. And now also they first had an account of the alterations in England, and of the great preparations and large supply, to be sent by the Lord Delaware, appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of Virginia."*

CHAPTER XIII.

The old Charter and Officers superseded—Extensive Fleet, with Reinforcements—Shipwreck of the new Governors—Arrival of the Fleet—Surprise of Smith—Troublesome Factions—Character of the new Recruits—Fate of the Germans and Volday—Vigorous Measures of Smith—Imprisonment of the Factious Leaders—Attempts at New Settlements—More Difficulties with the Indians—Purchase of Powhatan—Mutiny against Smith: his Escape—Complaints of the Indians: their Revenge—Nonsuch founded and abandoned—Severe Accident to Smith: his Return to England necessary: Peculiarities of his Situation: his Character.

The failure of the settlers to realize the expectations of the Company in England, led to the cancelling of the old charter, and the granting of a new one, with greatly enlarged powers, and including several men of wealth and influence, who had previously stood aloof from lack of confidence. An expedition, consisting of nine ships and five hundred settlers, was dispatched, under Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, each of whom was furnished with a commission as governor, and authorized to recall the commission formerly

* Stith's History of Virginia.

granted—the first arriving, to assume the office "But because they could not agree for place, it was concluded that they should all go in one ship, called the Sea-Venture. They sailed from England the latter end of May, 1609; but the 25th of July, the admiral-ship was parted from the rest of the fleet, by the tail of a hurricane, having on board the three commanders, an hundred and fifty men, their new commission, and bills of lading, together with all manner of instructions and directions, and the best part of their provisions. She arrived not, but was foundered on Bermudas, as shall be hereafter related. A small ketch likewise perished in the hurricane; but the seven other ships came safe. In them, as captains, came Ratcliffe, (whose right name, as is said, was Sicklemore) Martin, and Archer, with Captain Wood, Captain Webbe, Captain Moon, Captain King, Captain Davies, Mr. Ralph Hamer, and divers other gentlemen, of good fortune and eminent birth. The president, being informed by his scouts of the arrival of this fleet, little dreamed of such a supply, but supposed them, at first, to be Spaniards. He therefore put himself into the best posture of defence he could; and being seconded by the Indians, (who, upon this occasion, showed their friendship, and prepared, with great alacrity, to assist the English with their utmost power) they thought themselves so well provided for the reception of an enemy, that they little feared their coming.

"Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, had bred

much disturbance at sea, and had paved the way for being even more troublesome ashore. For they had infused such jealousies and prejudices into the company against Captain Smith, that they mortally hated him before they had ever seen him. But several of better sense and experience among them, from their first landing, hearing the general good report of his old soldiers, and seeing the prudence and uprightness of his actions, were soon undeceived, and saw into the malice of Ratcliffe and his faction. They therefore left their society, and ever adhered to Captain Smith as his firm and faithful friends. But a great part of this new company consisted of unruly sparks packed off by their friends, to escape worse destinies at home. And the rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to spoil or ruin a commonwealth, than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd company therefore were led by their seditious captains into many gross mischiefs and extravagancies. They assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the government; and conferred it sometimes on one and sometimes on another. To-day, the old commission must rule; to-morrow, the new; and next day, neither. So that all was anarchy and distraction; neither were there any hopes, from the present posture of affairs, but of the utmost misery and confusion.

"The German also that had returned to the English. seeing this distracted state of things,

and hoping for some advantage from it, fled again, with one of his consorts, to Powhatan, to whom he promised wonders at the arrival of Lord Delaware. But that sensible barbarian, knowing the wickedness and perfidy of their nature, replied, that they who would have betrayed Captain Smith to him, would certainly betray him to this great lord, to make their peace; and so he wisely ordered his men to beat out their brains. But Volday, the Zwitzer, made a shift to get to England, where, persuading the merchants what rich mines he had found, and what services he would do them, he was well rewarded, and sent back with the Lord Delaware. But being found a mere impostor, he died in a most contemned and miserable manner.

"Captain Smith, all this time of turbulency and distraction, was sadly troubled and perplexed how to proceed. At first, finding his authority thus unexpectedly cancelled and changed, he resolved to leave all, and return for England. But afterwards, seeing there was little hope of the arrival of this new commission, and that his own was not legally superseded but by the actual production of another, he determined to bear up, and to act with vigor and resolution. He therefore set himself, with great courage, and the perpetual hazard of his life, to oppose this torrent of faction and immorality; and at last so far mastered it, that he cast Ratcliffe, Archer, and the other chiefs, into prison, till he had more leisure to bring them to a fair and legal trial.

And the better to dissipate the humors, and to break the confederacies, he sent Mr. West with an hundred and twenty the best he could choose to make a settlement at the falls; and Martin, with near the same number, to Nansamond; allowing each their due proportion of all the provisions, according to their number. And now the year of his presidency being near expired, he made Captain Martin, who was become more tractable, president in his room. But Martin, knowing his own insufficiency, and the people's unruliness and little regard for him, within three hours resigned it again to Captain Smith. For as Ratcliffe had been removed from the council, and was not again restored, Martin and Smith were the only two then in the country that could either elect or be elected president; and Martin, having thus wisely disengaged himself from an office which he was then no ways able to execute or support, proceeded to make his settlement at Nansamond. The nation, having been reduced to subjection and contribution, used him kindly: yet such were his unreasonable jealousy and fear, that he surprised the poor naked king, and his monuments and houses, with the island wherein he lived, and there fortified himself. But the Indians soon perceiving his fear and distraction, ventured to assault him: and they killed several of his men, released their king, and gathered and carried off a thousand bushels of corn; whilst he, in the mean while, never once offered to intercept them, but sent to the president, then at the falls, for thirty sol-

diers. These were presently sent him from Jamestown. But he so employed them that they did nothing, and soon returned, complaining of his tenderness and cowardice; and he likewise, leaving his company to their fortunes, came away with them to Jamestown.

"The president followed the other company up to the falls to see them well seated. But he was surprised in his way to meet Captain West so soon returning to Jamestown; and he found the settlement very inconsiderately made, in a place not only liable to the river's inundation, but also subject to many other intolerable inconveniencies. To remedy which, he immediately sent to Powhatan, to purchase the place called Powhatan. The conditions of their agreement were these: that the English should defend him against the Manakins; that he should resign to them the fort and the houses, with all that country, for a proportion of copper; that all thieves should be sent thither, to receive their punishment; that every house, as a custom, should pay the president a bushel of corn for an inch square of copper, and a certain quantity of pocones to King James for their protection; and that they should barter what else they could spare at their best discretion. But Captain West's company depended so much on the lord-general's new commission, that they regarded no person or thing. And supposing the Manakins' country reached to the South Sea, and was all gold, they pleased themselves with the vain conceit that it was entirely under their power and command,

and that none should go thither but whom they pleased. They therefore rejected the president with insolence and contempt. However, he ventured, with five men, to land among them; and committed the heads of the mutiny to prison, till, by their numbers, they obliged him to retire. In making off, he happily surprised one of their boats, with which he returned to the ship; and had not the mariners proved very tractable and faithful to him, he had small means and little probability of escaping their fury.

"The Indians also came to him, complaining, that he had brought them, for protectors, worse enemies than the Manakins themselves; that they stole their corn, robbed their gardens, broke open their houses, beat them, and kept several in prison; and that, till then, they had borne all this out of love to him, but desired pardon if hereafter they defended themselves. They likewise offered him their assistance, and to fight for him against them, if he would lead them on. But having spent nine days, to no purpose, in endeavoring to reclaim them, he departed for Jamestown. The ship was no sooner under sail, but twelve Indians assaulted those hundred and twenty in their fort. And finding many straggling abroad in the woods, they killed some, and so frightened the rest that their countrymen in prison escaped, and they went safely off with the swords and cloaks of those they had slain. But before the ship had sailed half a league she grounded, which gave the president an opportunity of summoning them once more to a par-

ley. And now he found them so amazed with that silly assault of the Indians, that they surrendered themselves, upon any terms, to his mercy. He therefore laid six or seven of the chief offenders by the heels, and seated the rest at Powhatan, the strongest and best place he had seen in the country, and for that reason they called it Nonsuch. Here they had dry houses for lodgings, near two hundred acres of land, cleared and ready for planting, with a savage fort ready built, and prettily fortified with poles and barks of trees, and sufficient to have defended them against all the Indians in the country. He likewise appeased the Indians, making restitution and satisfaction to each party for their former losses and damages.

"And now, new officers being appointed, and the president ready to depart, just at that instant arrived Captain West, whose gentle nature was so wrought on and abused by compassion for the prisoners and the persuasions of the mutineers, who alleged they had only done this for his honor, that all things were again thrown into confusion and mutiny. But the president, having no inclination to contend with Mr. West, and little power to curb their insolence, left them to their fortunes and returned to Jamestown; and soon after they abandoned Nonsuch, and went back to their first settlement at West's-Fort.

"But passing down the river, as Captain Smith was asleep in the boat, his powder-bag, by some accident, was fired, which tore the flesh from his body and thighs, nine or ten inches square, in a

most dreadful manner. To quench the fire, which fried and tormented him in his clothes, he leaped overboard, and was almost drowned before they could recover him. In this piteous state he arrived at Jamestown, where Ratcliffe, Archer, and the rest of their confederates were soon to come to their trials. But their guilty consciences misgiving them, and seeing the president unable to stand, and almost bereft of his senses by reason of his torment, they entered into a conspiracy to murder him in his bed. But his heart failed him who was to have given fire to the pistol; and so, being disappointed in this purpose, they joined together to usurp the government and thereby escape their punishment. In the mean time, the president's old soldiers being provoked beyond all patience at their malice and sedition, flocked to him, and importuned him to give them but the word, and they would fetch the heads of the boldest among them that durst resist his commands. Yet he would not suffer them to bring the matter to a civil broil, but sent immediately for the masters of the ships, and took order with them for his return to England; for there was neither chirurgeon nor chirurgery at the fort; and his wounds were so grievous, and torments so cruel, that few expected he could live. And he likewise highly resented, and was much chagrined to see his authority suppressed, he knew not why; himself and his soldiers to be rewarded for their past labors and dangers, he knew not how; and a new commission granted, to they knew not whom.

And besides, he found himself unable to follow his business, suppress those factions, and range the country for provisions as he before intended. And he well knew that his own presence and activity were as requisite in those affairs as his advice and directions. For all which reasons he resolved upon leaving the country, and went presently on board one of the ships.

"Captain Percy had been for some time in a very bad state of health, and had taken his passage in one of the ships to go to England: but now, upon Smith's departure, many came about him, and by entreaties and persuasions prevailed with him to stay, and take upon him the government. But there were many others up in arms, calling themselves presidents and counsellors, several of which began now to fawn upon and solicit Smith to give up his commission to them; and after much ado, and many bitter repulses, that their ruin and confusion might not be attributed to him for leaving the country without a commission, he permitted it to be *stolen*, but never could be induced to resign it into such vile hands."—STITH.

About the latter part of September, 1609, Captain Smith left the country, never again to see it. "He left behind him three ships and seven boats; commodities ready for trade; the corn newly gathered; ten-weeks' provision in the store; four hundred and ninety odd persons; twenty-four pieces of ordnance; three hundred muskets, with other arms and ammunition, more than sufficient for the men; the language and

habitations of the Indians well known to an hundred trained and expert soldiers; nets for fishing; tools of all sorts to work; apparel to supply their wants; six mares and a horse; five or six hundred hogs; as many hens and chickens, with some goats and some sheep; for whatever had been brought or bred here, still remained. But this seditious and distracted rabble, regarding not any thing, but from hand to mouth, riotously consumed what there was, and took care for nothing but to color and make out some complaints against Captain Smith. For this end the ships were detained three weeks, at a great charge, till they could produce and bring them to bear."*

As a soldier of fortune, we have seen that, previous to his connexion with Virginia, Smith had "run through a great variety of life and adventure." So notorious were many of his heroic exploits, that "he lived to see himself brought upon the stage, and the chief dangers and most interesting passages of his life racked, as he complains, and misrepresented in low tragedies." One of his friends, whom he left behind in Virginia, has given this character of him: "In all his proceedings he made justice his first guide, and experience his second; hating baseness, sloth, pride and indignity, more than any dangers. He never would allow more for himself than for his soldiers; and upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself. He would never see us want what he had,

* Stith's History of Virginia.

or could by any means get for us. He would rather want than borrow; or starve than not pay. He loved action more than words; and hated covetousness and falsehood worse than death. His adventures were our lives; and his loss our deaths."

Few men, in any age or country, were ever more universally esteemed, among the honorable and independent portion of their contemporaries, than Smith; and this high estimation of his moral worth seems to have been transmitted from generation to generation, undiminished by the lapse of time, and equally as prevalent at the present day as it was two centuries and a half ago. The following just remarks upon his administration of affairs in Virginia, are taken from Mr. Hillard's popular work:

"It is hardly possible for Captain Smith's services to the colony to be exaggerated. Nothing but the force of his character could have conducted it through so many difficulties and dangers. Upon his single life its existence hung, and without him the enterprise would have been relinquished again and again, as in the case of the settlements on the coast of North Carolina, and the establishment of a permanent colony in America would have been delayed to an indefinite period, since every unsuccessful attempt would have been a fresh discouragement to such an undertaking. It is easy to be seen that he embraced the interests of the colony with the whole force of his fervid and enthusiastic character. He was its right eye and its right arm. In its service he displayed a perseverance which no obstacles could dis-

hearten, a courage which bordered upon rashness, and a fertility of resources which never left him at a loss for remedies against every disaster, and for the means of extricating himself from every difficulty and embarrassment.

"It is curious to observe, that he seemed not only to superintend, but to do every thing. His official dignity never encumbered him when any thing was to be done. We find him, at one time, cutting down trees with his own hands; at another, heading an exploring expedition, venturing, with a few timid followers, in an open bark, into unknown regions densely peopled with savage tribes; and at another, marching with a few soldiers to procure provisions, and sleeping on the bare ground in the depth of winter. He had the advantage of possessing an iron frame and a constitution which was proof against sickness and exposure; so that, while others were faint, drooping, and weary, he was vigorous, unexhausted, ready to grapple with danger, and contemplating every enterprise with cheerful confidence in the result.

"In the government of his colony he was rigidly impartial, just, and, as might be expected from one who had so long been a soldier, strict, even to severity. This was indeed one of the objections made to his administration by the council in England, and it without doubt created him many enemies in Jamestown. But the intelligent reader will find for him a sufficient apology in the desperate character of many of the settlers, and in the absolute necessity of implicit subordination, which their situation required.

"The whole power was centred in his own person, and a refusal to obey him was a refusal to obey the laws, upon which their safety and even existence

depended. His severity arose from a sense of duty, and no one ever accused him of being wantonly cruel or revengeful. No man was more ready to forgive offences, aimed at himself personally; a striking proof of which is, that we hear of no punishments being inflicted on the dastardly wretches who attempted to assassinate him, as he was lying helpless from his wounds, during the last days of his administration.

"His conduct to the Indians, though not always dictated by a spirit of Christian justice or brotherhood, will be found very honorable to him, if tried by the standard of the opinions of his day. Here, too, his apology must be found in the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. He was not the head of a powerful body, meeting and trading with the Indians on terms of equality, but of a feeble band, whom they, if they had known their own strength, might have crushed in a moment. The passion of fear is the parent of cruelty and of treachery. It was necessary (or at least it was deemed so) to overawe the Indians, to strike terror into them; and, if the means resorted to for accomplishing these ends were not strictly justifiable, there was at least an excuse for them.

"The English were also more than once threatened with famine, while their Indian neighbors were generally well supplied with provisions; and reason and experience tell us that starving men will not be very nice in their expedients to obtain food, or coolly examine into the right and wrong of measures, when a fierce animal instinct is goading them on. Captain Smith, by prudence and firmness, established a most harmonious feeling between the two races.

"The respect of the Indians for him hardly stop-

ped short of idolatry. His great qualities were evident to these untutored children of Nature, and their reverence was the instinctive homage which is paid to innate superiority. This is alone sufficient to prove that he never treated the Indians, even as they thought, with injustice, cruelty, or caprice; had it been so, he never would have been so admired and honored by a race of men who are proverbial for never forgetting an injury.

"The genuine merits of Captain Smith, as a presiding officer, can only be fairly estimated by comparing him with others. We have seen that whenever he departs from Jamestown, every thing is thrown into confusion, and that, as soon as he returns, order is restored and the jarring notes of discord cease to be heard As none but himself could bend the bow of Ulysses, so no one was capable of sustaining the office of President, for a single day, but Captain Smith." * * * "Compare also the results of his brilliant expedition to explore the Chesapeake, with Newport's pompous march into the country of the Monacans, in which his failure was as wretched as his means of success were ample. The miserable adventures of the colony, too, after he, its ruling and moving spirit, had departed, are in themselves a splendid encomium upon his energetic and successful administration."

CHAPTER XIV

The Sea-Venture and the Governors—Isle of Devils: its Animal and Vegetable Productions—The Shipwrecked Party leave for Virginia: Desperate Condition of Affairs in that Region: "The Starving Time"—Resolution to abandon the Settlement: Happily Frustrated by the arrival of Lord Delaware—Important Assistance from England—Projected New Settlements—Pocahontas made a Prisoner—Powhatan apprised of her Situation: His Answer—Skirmishes with the Indians—Two Brothers of Pocahontas—Partial Arrangement of Difficulties—Marriage of Pocahontas and Rolfe: Embarkation for England: Arrival.

MANY interesting events in the life of Pocahontas are so intimately blended with the history of Captain Smith, that we shall incorporate them as coming legitimately within the sphere of our design. For the same reason, we shall also include the most important matters connected with the settlement after the captain's departure for England. As a necessary link in the chain of connection, the fate of the three governors who embarked in the Sea-Venture may be considered as first in order. After this vessel was separated from the rest of the fleet, she became so shattered and leaky by the violence of the sea, that the "water in the hold rose above two tiers of hogsheads;" and those on board were obliged to stand up to their waists, bailing with buckets, kettles, or similar implements, for three days and nights without intermission. Finding that, despite their utmost efforts, the water was rather gaining upon them, they resolved to close the hatches, and "commit themselves to the mercy of the sea

and God's good providence. In this dangerous and desperate state, some who had *good and comfortable waters* fetched them, and drank to one another, as taking their last leaves till a more happy and joyful meeting in the other world." Sir George Somers had sat all this time upon the poop, managing to keep the ship upright, or she must long before have foundered. At last he had the good fortune unexpectedly to descry land; and "this welcome news, as if it had been a voice from heaven, hurried them all above hatches, to see what they could scarce believe." Although it was known to be Bermuda, "a place then dreaded and shunned by all men," yet they crowded sail, and did every thing else in their power to reach the land. "It was not long before the ship struck upon a rock; but a surge of the sea cast her from thence, and so from one to another, till she was most luckily thrown up between two as upright as if she had been on the stocks." Suddenly the wind abated to a calm, and the sea became so still that, with the greatest ease, all the passengers, provisions, and goods were got safely on shore—a distance of more than a league from the wreck. So terrible had this place previously become in the eyes of mariners, on account of the wreck of numerous Spanish, French and Dutch vessels, that, with the usual elegance of marine classics, it had been pretty generally christened the *Isle of Devils*. All concerned were agreeably disappointed in not realizing their dismal expectations: they found it the most healthful, pleasant, and

productive place they had ever seen. They met with excellent fish, so large and plentiful, that in half an hour enough could be caught by one individual to supply the whole company. On one occasion, "Sir George Somers caught one that had before carried off two of his hooks, so large that it would have pulled him into the sea, had not his men got hold of him." Hogs also were found so abundant, that at their first hunting they killed thirty-two; and game, fruits, vegetables, and other acceptable means of subsistence enabled them to live in such plenty, ease, and comfort, that "many forgot all other places, and never desired to return from thence."

At last, however, it was resolved to deck the long-boat with the ship's hatches, and to send Mr. Raven and eight others to Virginia, for the purpose of making arrangements for their transportation thither; but this frail vessel must have perished at sea, as none of the party were ever heard of afterwards. Even in the small group of humanity left upon the island, "such was the malice, envy, and ambition of some, that, notwithstanding Sir George Somers's eminent services, there arose great differences between the commanders," which seemed to verify the observations of a Spanish author, that the air of America was infectious, and inclined men's minds to wrangling and contention. Each party determined on building a vessel, and two cedar ships were at length finished. Instead of pitch and tar, their seams were caulked and payed with lime and turtle's oil, which quickly became dry,

and as hard as stone; they were rigged with what was saved from the Sea-Venture, and amply provisioned with acceptable fare. On the 10th of May, 1610, all but two* were embarked, and somewhat regretfully left the island, having sojourned there for about nine months. After a prosperous voyage of fourteen days, they reached their destination, where every thing was found in such a desperate condition, that they at once abandoned all hope of maintaining the settlement, and made immediate preparations for returning to England.

It appears that no sooner had the Indians learned that Smith was gone, than they set at defiance the remaining power of the whites—murdering and pillaging indiscriminately every party they could overpower. The stores left by Smith were becoming rapidly exhausted, when Captain West and Captain Ratcliffe, each with some thirty or forty men in a "small ship," were dispatched in quest of materials for replenishing their stock. With a foolhardiness characteristic of the man, Ratcliffe put himself entirely within the power of Powhatan, and dearly did he pay for his temerity—being slaughtered with the whole of his party, except two. Captain West was more fortunate, although he failed in

* Christopher Carter and Edward Waters, who had rendered themselves amenable to punishment for certain offences, fled into the woods to avoid the demands of justice. Waters had been actually tied to a tree to be executed, but he cut the rope with a knife he had secreted, and made his escape.

obtaining the necessary supplies; and shortly after sailed for England. In the words of Dr. Simons, they now began fearfully to realize "the loss of Captain Smith—yea, his greatest malign-ers could now curse his loss." "As for corn, provisions, and contributions from the savages," he continues, "we had nothing but mortal wounds with clubs and arrows; as for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived, our commanders, officers, and savages daily consum-ed them; some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, arms, pieces, or any thing, we traded with the savages, whose cruel fingers were so oft imbrued in our blood, that what by their cruelty, the governor's indiscretion, and the loss of our ships, of five hundred within six months after Captain Smith's departure, there remained not past sixty men, women, and children, most miserable and poor creatures; and these were preserved for the most part by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries, and now and then a little fish: they that had starch in these extremities, made no small use of it; yea, even the very skins of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a savage we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him up again, and ate him, and so did divers one another, boil-ed and stewed with roots and herbs. And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was known, for which he was executed, as he well deserved. Now, whether she was better roasted, boiled or carbonadoed, I know not; but of such a dish

as powdered wife, I never heard of. This was that time which still to this day we called *the Starving Time!* It were too vile to say, and scarce to be believed, what we endured; but the occasion was our own, for want of providence, industry and government."

It is no wonder that the newly-arrived governors, who had so narrowly escaped death in two other forms, and who knew nothing of the causes which had produced such deplorable results, should be in favor of leaving a prospect so desolate. They at once embarked the remnant of the colony with themselves, making such provision as their means afforded, and turned their prows towards England. Before they got to sea, however, they were met by Lord Delaware, who had been sent out as governor, bringing three ships exceedingly well furnished with all necessaries; and after a brief consultation among the leaders of the newly-departed and the newly-arrived, it was deemed advisable to return to Jamestown.

On the 10th of June, 1610, Lord Delaware attended divine service at the church with his officers; and after seeking counsel of God, he "delivered some few words to the company, laying just blame upon them for their haughty vanities and sluggish idleness, and earnestly entreating them to amend those desperate follies, lest he should be compelled to draw the sword of justice, and to cut off such delinquents."—His address had the desired effect for a time. New buildings and fortifications were erected,

and ample means provided for the comfortable subsistence of all. He remained with the colony nearly a year, during which time his health materially suffered from various diseases, including ague, dysentery, gout, and scurvy; he therefore proposed returning to England, and accordingly embarked for that country, March 28, 1611, leaving the government again in the hands of Captain George Percy, by whom it was administered until May 10th, when Governor Sir Thomas Dale arrived with another supply of men, cattle, and provisions. From the representations made by Lord Delaware on his return, the Virginia Company were induced immediately to fit out, for Sir Thomas Gates, "six tall ships, with three hundred men, one hundred kine and cattle, and all other manner of provision that could be thought needful;" which arrived at Jamestown on the 2d of August, when Gates superseded Dale as governor.

The building of new towns now began to engross a large share of attention; but owing to the continued hostility of Powhatan and the surrounding chiefs, whom none of the numerous governors had been able to subdue or conciliate, such undertakings were attended with great danger and little benefit.

About this time Captain Argall was sent to the Potomac to trade for corn, the Indians in the vicinity of Jamestown having then none to spare, and no disposition to spare it when they had. He contrived to ingratiate himself into the good graces of Japazaws, the king of that

country, and an old friend of Captain Smith, with whom he made an arrangement for the betrayal of Pocahontas into his power. For some reason, never satisfactorily ascertained, this "numparell of Virginia," as she was styled by Smith, had placed herself under the protection of this Indian, relying upon him to keep her retreat unknown to all but trusty friends; and Captain Argall engaged to give him a copper kettle to bring her on board his ship; promising not to hurt her, but to keep her safe until a treaty of peace could be concluded with her father. "This savage," it is affirmed "would have done any thing for the copper kettle; and therefore, having no pretence on account of her own curiosity, because she had seen and been in many ships, he made his wife pretend that she was very desirous to see one." They each played their parts so well—she feigning incessant importunity, and he threatening to beat her if she did not forbear to annoy him—that at last Pocahontas, thinking herself unknown, and as a means of restoring harmony between her artful friends, consented to accompany them on board, where they were all liberally feasted in the cabin. Here Japazaws frequently trod on the captain's foot to remind him that he had done his part in securing the prize; and the captain, when he thought the proper time arrived, persuaded Pocahontas into the gun-room, under pretence of having some conference with Japazaws, "which was only that she should not perceive he was any way guilty of her captivity."

After settling the agreement with her betrayers, he sent for her again, and told her, in their presence, that she must go with him, and compound peace with her country and the English before ever she should see Powhatan. At this intimation, (some more *acting* being considered advisable) her quondam protector and his wife began to "howl and cry as fast as Pocahontas;" but the captain's fair explanations and promises by degrees had the effect of pacifying all parties; and "Japazaws and his wife, with the kettle and other toys, went merrily on shore, and she to Jamestown," where she had not been before since the departure of Captain Smith.

A messenger was forthwith dispatched to Powhatan, apprising him of the situation of his daughter, and intimating that she could only be ransomed by the restoration of the men, swords, pieces, tools, &c., which he had treacherously stolen. This unwelcome news troubled him much; because, says the chronicler, "he loved both his daughter and our commodities well;" yet an interval of three months elasped ere he deigned an answer. Then, by the persuasion of the council, he returned seven men, with each of them a useless musket; and sent word that when his daughter was restored to freedom, he would make satisfaction for all former injuries, and give five hundred bushels of corn, with an assurance that he would ever remain on friendly terms. The men and articles were received as part payment; but word was sent him that it was not believed that the rest of the arms were

either lost or stolen from him, and therefore his daughter would be detained until they were forthcoming. He was so much displeased with this answer, that no more was heard from him for a long time after; and it is quite uncertain whether he would have paid any further attention to the matter, had not some determined measures been taken to secure the promised ransom. Argall's ship and several vessels belonging to the colony, with one hundred and fifty well-appointed men, went up the river to his principal residence, in the hope of accomplishing their object by this show of force; but they were received by his chiefs in a spirit of bravado, and told that they were most "welcome if they came to fight," as preparations had been made for their reception, and they would fare as Ratcliffe and his men had done. Not content with these bullying expressions, they finally "let fly their arrows" among the vessels, but without doing any serious harm. Being thus tauntingly defied, however, Argall manned his boats, went on shore, and burned their houses; after which, he proceeded further up the river. On the next day they had another meeting with the Indians, who insolently inquired why they burned their houses? which inquiry was answered by another, why they had fired upon the vessels? "They replied that it was some straggling savage, with many other excuses; they intended no hurt, but were friends." Being assured that the object of the English was also friendly, they expressed their readiness to conclude

a peace, and forthwith dispatched messengers to Powhatan, whose answer, it was alleged, could not be received in less than twenty-four hours. They then stated that the men which had been demanded had ran away, for fear of being hanged if they were surrendered; as for the swords and muskets, they should be brought the next day; but it was afterwards quite apparent that this was only an expedient to gain time, for the next day brought no fulfilment of their promises. It was then determined that the expedition should proceed higher still, to a house of Powhatan's, called Matchot; and here were found about four hundred men, completely armed with every implement for Indian warfare, who dared the English to come ashore, which they did. No show of fear was made by the savages, nor did they offer any resistance to the landing of Argall's party; but, walking boldly up and down among them, demanded a conference with the captain. A truce was arranged until the next day, that they might send once more to their king to know his pleasure: "If it were not agreeable to their expectation," says one who was present, "then they would fight with us, and defend their own as best they could; * * * and they should know when we would begin by our drums and trumpets,"—a very accommodating arrangement truly! Two of Powhatan's sons took advantage of this interval to visit their sister, and were much rejoiced to find her well, promising that they would persuade her father to redeem her, and conclude satisfactory terms of peace. The two brothers

then remained on board as hostages, and Rolfe and Sparks were sent to apprise Powhatan that all things were in readiness for a "pacific solution"* of existing difficulties. The embassy were kindly entertained, but not admitted into the royal presence: Opechancanough, the king's brother and successor, acting as secretary of state, promised his best efforts to prevail upon his "august sovereign" to accede to all reasonable requirements, and establish lasting amity.—It being now (April) the season for planting corn, it was deemed advisable to be content with this understanding; and Argall and his party returned to Jamestown, stipulating, in any event, not to exact the payment of certain penalties until after the next harvest.

Long before this, Mr. John Rolfe, a worthy young gentleman, conceived a sincere affection for Pocahontas, which she as sincerely reciprocated. While engaged in this expedition, he wrote a letter on the subject to Sir Thomas Dale, entreating his advice, and Pocahontas likewise took occasion to hold a consultation with her brothers. The friends of both parties highly approving of their union, it was soon settled upon; and the report of this determination coming to the knowledge of Powhatan, he not only gave his consent at once, but within ten days sent Opachisco, an old uncle of her's, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the marriage, and to

* This is a modern phrase. We hope that none of our readers will suspect any of the *diplomats* engaged in this affair of having invented it!

do in that behalf what they were required, for the confirmation of it, as his deputies. It was therefore solemnized in the beginning of April, 1613, and "ever after they had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himself as with all his subjects."

After her marriage, Rolfe and his friends were very careful and assiduous in instructing Pocahontas in the Christian religion; and she, on her part, expressed an eager desire and evinced great capacity in learning. Her advancement was so rapid and satisfactory, that she soon openly renounced the idolatry of her country, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized by the name of Rebecca. But her real name, it seems, was *Matoax*, which the Indians carefully concealed from the English, and changed it to Pocahontas, out of a superstitious fear, lest they, by the knowledge of her true name, should be enabled to do her some hurt. She was the first Christian Indian in this reign, and perhaps the sincerest and most worthy that has ever been since. Although she was always the favorite child of her father, she never expressed the least desire to return to him, nor could she endure the brutish manners or society of her own nation. Her affection to her husband was extremely constant and true; and he, on the other hand, always displayed a tender solicitude for her happiness, which evinced a just appreciation of her many noble qualities. When Powhatan afterwards heard of the great change which had been wrought in his daughter, and was told that she

would not on any account return and live with him, he laughed heartily, and seemed very much pleased to hear it.

Sir Thomas Dale soon after relinquished the government of Virginia, and returned to England, being accompanied by Pocahontas and her husband, who also carried with them several young natives of both sexes—all of whom arrived safe at Plymouth, June, 12, 1616.

CHAPTER XV.

Smith engages in New Explorations on the Northern American Coasts: Success and Return—His Agreement with Prince Charles in regard to the Names of several Important Places: Villany of his Associate, Captain Hunt—High Anticipations of Smith—Promise of the Plymouth Company: Engagement with them—Better Offers declined—Expedition under Cooper sails from London—Sir Ferdinand Gorges—Cunning Device of a Kidnapped Indian to get Home—Abortive attempts to unite the London and Plymouth Companies—Failure of the latter to redeem their promises—Two Vessels at last provided, in which Smith sails: his Return, disabled by a Storm: Sails again in another Craft—Encounter with Pirates—Captured by a French Cruiser: His Sailors escape with the English Vessel: Smith detained a Prisoner: Occasional Employment in Fighting and Writing—Captain Barra, "an English Pirat"—A Rich Prize—Liberal Promises to Smith, who is taken to France—False Accusations—Fortunate Escape—New Trials and Difficulties—Return to England.

While the interesting events recorded in the last chapter were transpiring in Virginia, Captain Smith was engaged in enterprises in other regions which afforded an ample field for the exercise of his active temperament. The injuries

he had sustained from the accidental explosion of powder, as previously recorded, appear to have yielded to medical treatment, and he was soon in a condition to encounter new perils. He did not, however, at once engage in his favorite business of "seeing the world," through the instrumentality of new exploring expeditions, but seems to have lived in comparative privacy for a few years, probably busied on his reminiscences of former times, and storing his mind with useful knowledge for the future. After a while, being well known in England, "the report of his valour, and his spirit of adventure, pointed him out to a number of merchants, who were engaged in the American fishery, as a proper person to make discoveries on the coast of North Virginia, as it was called at that time, but which name was afterwards changed for that of New England. In March, 1614, he sailed from London with two ships, and arrived at the island of Monahigon in latitude $43\frac{1}{2}^{o}$, as it was then computed, where he built seven boats. The design of the voyage was to take whales, to examine a mine of gold and another of copper, which were said to be there; and if either or both of these should fail, to make up the cargo with fish and furs. The mines proved a fiction, and by long chasing the whales to no purpose, they lost the best season for fishing; but while the seamen were engaged in these services, Smith, in one of his boats, with eight men, ranged the coast, east and west, from Penobscot to Cape Cod; bartering with the natives for beaver and other furs, and mak-

ing observations on the shores, islands, harbours, and head-lands; which, at his return to England, he wrought into a map, and, presenting it to Prince Charles, (afterwards the *royal martyr*) with a request that he would give the country a name, it was for the first time called New-England. The prince also made several alterations in the names which Smith had given to particular places. For instance, he had called the name of that promontory which forms the eastern entrance of Massachusetts bay, Tragabigzanda; after the name of the Turkish lady to whom he had been formerly a slave at Constantinople; and the three islands which lie off the Cape, the Turks' Heads, in memory of his victory over the three Turkish champions, in his Transylvanian adventures. In filial respect to his mother, Charles called the former 'Cape Anne,' which name it has ever since retained; the name of the islands has long since been lost; and another cluster, to which he gave his own name, Smith's Isles, and which name the prince did not alter, are now, and have for more than a century, been called the Isles of Shoals; so that the most pointed marks of his discoveries on the coast of New England have, either by his own complaisance to the son of his sovereign, or by force of time and accidents, become obsolete. When he sailed for England in one of the ships, he left the other behind to complete her lading, with orders to sell the fish in Spain. The master, Thomas Hunt, decoyed twenty-four of the natives on board, and sold them in Spain

for slaves. The memory of this base transaction was long preserved, and succeeding adventurers suffered on account of it."*

Smith gave so favorable a report of the countries he had visited, that a momentary *furor* sprung up for immediately forming settlements under his supervision. Facilities and advantages were promised without stint in aid of this project, and he was induced to calculate largely upon accomplishing something which should be beneficial to his countrymen and honorable to himself; but he was again sadly disappointed, and reaped nothing but a harvest of chagrin for his arduous services.

On his return to Plymouth, it was his "ill chance," he says, to impart several important facts connected with his voyage to persons whom he considered as friends, and who "were interested in the dead patent of this unregarded country." Many of the old North Virginia Company were so favorably impressed with his projects, that they at once engaged his services, with the assurance that he should have the "managing their authority in those parts during

* Many jump at the conclusion that Hunt was actuated in this disgraceful business merely by the motive of putting money in his purse; but this is the least important object assigned by Smith for the act. He regarded it as a stroke of policy, intended to perpetuate the hostility of the natives—"thereby to keep this abounding country still in obscurity, that onely he and some few merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade." It is gratifying to know that, whatever the motive, he was indignantly dismissed from employment on returning to England.

his life." Relying upon the sincerity of these promises, he set off for London, to attend to matters connected with his former and future expeditions. Here he found the tongue of envy had preceded him, and was busy in charging him with misrepresentations respecting the resources of New England—suggesting that if such advantages as he claimed existed there, others would have found them out as well as he; and further intimating that he had probably robbed the French settlers in New France or Canada of the valuable commodities which he brought home. However, the scandals circulated seemed to have but little effect upon those who fitted out the last expedition; on the contrary, they tried again to induce Smith to enter their employment, which he would gladly have done, had he not engaged with the Plymouth Company, as above stated. With a frankness which distinguished all his actions, he gave publicity to his schemes, setting forth the great gain which would probably be realized from the fisheries, the fur-trade, and colonization. His "projects for fishing only was so well liked," that the South Virginia Company hastened to fit out four good ships, which were ready for sea before they at Plymouth had made any provision at all; and although Smith had made an arrangement with Michael Cooper, master of the bark engaged in his previous explorations, to accompany him in his new expedition, yet Cooper disregarded his engagement, and went out with the four vessels as soon as they were ready. In relation to this

transaction, Smith says, "How he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not;" * * "I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with Couper, in that they offered me that employment if I would accept it; and I find still my refusal incurred some of their displeasures, whose love and favor I exceedingly desired; and though they do censure me opposite [instead of] their proceedings, they shall yet still, in all my words and deeds, find it is their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike; for having engaged myselfe in this business to the West Countrey, I had been very dishonest to have broke my promise; nor will I spend more time in discovery or fishing till I may go with a company for a plantation; for I know my grounds, yet every one to whom I tell them, or that reads this booke, cannot put it in practice, though it may helpe any that hath seene or not seene to know much of those parts. And though they endeavor to worke me out of my own designes, I will not much envy their fortunes; but I would be sorry their intruding ignorance should by their defailments bring those certainties to doubtfulnesse. So that the business prosper, I have my desire, be it by whomsoever that are true subjects to our king and country: the good of my country is what I seek, and there is more than enough for all, if they could be contented."

About this time Sir Ferdinand Gorges was zealously engaged in fitting out expeditions to the portions of New England now constituting

the states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. His principal object was to colonize a large grant of land which he had received, and from which he expected to realize fame and wealth. In conjunction with others, he expended large sums upon the undertaking; and although the returns disheartened his coadjutors, he was not so easily discouraged. When his associates declined any further connection with the business, he determined to carry it on by himself; and for this purpose he purchased a ship, and obtained a master (Captain Richard Vines) and company in whom he had the fullest confidence, arranging with them "to stay in the country over the winter, and pursue the discovery of it." The information gained by Vines, merely embracing some further knowledge of the country and natives, was the only remuneration for the heavy expenses attendant on the voyage. Yet Sir Ferdinand was soon induced to embark in another scheme, calculated to facilitate his plans, and which promised to make better returns. There was at that time in London an artful Indian, named Epenow, a native of the island of Capawock, (now Martha's Vineyard,) "who had been treacherously brought to England by one of the fishing ships," for the purpose of being exhibited. This savage came to Gorges with Captain Henry Harley, an unfortunate adventurer in the first expedition, who anticipated great results from what he had been told by him respecting his native country. The fellow, it seems, had invented a plausible story relative

to a mine of gold in his native island, in the hope that some adventurer would be induced to convey him home, to point out the treasure; nor was he disappointed. Funds were soon raised, and Harley sailed in June, 1614, taking with him Epenow and two other Indians, named Assacumet and Wanapé. On the arrival of the ship at the harbor where Epenow was to fulfil his promise, many of his kinsmen and other natives came on board, with whom he held a conference, and contrived his escape. When leaving, they promised to return the next day with furs for traffic. "Epenow had pretended that if it were known that he had betrayed the secrets of his country, his life would be in danger, but the company were careful to watch him; and, to prevent his escape, had dressed him in long clothes, which could easily be laid hold of, if there should be occasion. His friends appeared the next morning in twenty canoes; and, lying at a distance, the captain called on them to come on board, which they declining, Epenow was ordered to renew the invitation. He, mounting the forecastle, hailed them as he was directed, and at the same instant, though one held him by the coat, yet being strong and heavy, he jumped into the water. His countrymen then advanced to receive him, and sent a shower of arrows into the ship, which so disconcerted the crew, that the prisoner completely effected his escape."* Thus the golden dream vanished, and the ship returned without having

* Belknap.

performed any services adequate to the expense of her equipment.

The Plymouth Company, although not directly interested in this adventure, were so discouraged by its ill success, that (says Smith) "they neither regarded much their promises, and as little either me or the country, till they saw the London ships gone, and me in Plymouth according to my promise." "Now you are to remember," he continues, "I was promised foure good ships, ready prepared to my hand the next Christmas, and what conditions and content I would desire to put this businesse in practise, and arriving at London, foure more were offered me with the like courtesie."* "In January, with two hundred pound in cash for adventure, and six gentlemen well furnished, I went from London to the foure ships were promised me at Plymouth, but I found no such matter: and the most of those that had made such great promises, by the bad returne of the ship [which] went for gold, and their private emulations, were extinct and qualified. Notwithstanding, at last, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the greatest of the burden lay on me, and a few of my particular

* On this occasion, Smith had taken great pains to induce the London and Plymouth speculators to unite their interests in the contemplated adventure; "because the Londoners have most money, and the Westerne men are most proper for fishing; and it is neere as much trouble, but much more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth, than from Plymouth to New England; so that half the voyage would thus be saved: yet by no meanes I could prevaile, so desirous they were both to be lords of this fishing."

friends,* I was furnished with a ship of two hundred tunnes and another of fiftie." It was part of Smith's plan, in addition to other objects, to found a colony upon some suitable spot in New England, and for this purpose he had engaged sixteen individuals to remain with him wherever he might settle. These were, of course, over and above the necessary complement of sailors for the two vessels; and all things being arranged, the adventurers set sail from Plymouth in March, 1615. When they had proceeded about one hundred and twenty leagues, the large ship was dismasted, and sprung a-leak, which obliged her to put back under jury-masts to Plymouth, while the smaller craft kept on her way, and returned with a profitable cargo the ensuing August. This accident materially crippled the undertaking; for, instead of refitting the disabled ship, (probably unseaworthy before being taken up for this business,) the remainder of the provisions and a portion of the crew, with the sixteen intended for the nucleus of the colony, were transferred to a small bark of sixty tons. With this very indifferent equipment, Smith sailed again on the 24th of June; but scarcely had he got well on his way, before he encountered a series of disasters, which effectually debarred him from the further prosecution of his designs. First, he was chased by an English pirate of one hundred and forty tons and thirty-six guns, to which the master,

* Sir Ferdinand Gorges and Dr. Sutliffe, Dean of Exeter, were among the number.

mate, pilot, and others importuned him to yield, but "he vowed to sinke rather than be abused." These thought it very strange that a little vessel of only sixty tons and four cannon should stand so stoutly to her defence, until they recognized the valiant Smith, under whom several of them had served long before—probably in the Turkish wars. They had "but lately run from Tunis, where they had stolen this ship;" and being then in a state of mutiny, and short of provisions, they entreated Smith to become their commander, which he declined, and "which afterwards we all repented," adds the deposition of several who were with him. Having thus easily got rid of this ugly "free-trader," they went on their way rejoicing, until near Fayal, when they met with two French pirates—the one of two hundred tons, the other thirty. At first, nothing could induce the crew to offer resistance to this great disparity of force; and it was not until Smith threatened to blow up the ship rather than yield while there was a shot in the locker, that his men consented to do their duty: "so together by the ears we went," says the aforesaid deposition, "and at last got cleere of them for all their shot." At Flores they were again chased by four French men-of-war, well armed and provided, with whom, when overhauled, they "had much parley;" and on being assured that they "had a commission from the king onely to secure true men, and take Portugals, Spaniards, and pirats, and as they requested, our captaine went to show his commission, which

was under the broad seale; but neither it nor their vows they so much respected, but they kept him" on board, rifled the vessel, manned her with Frenchmen, and dispersed the crew among their fleet. Within five or six days after this, they were joined by several additional sail; when they concluded to relinquish their ill-gotten prize, with most of the provisions and hands. On being again at liberty, many of the men insisted on returning at once to England, although they were then as near to their point of destination; but the majority were in favor of continuing the voyage, which was accordingly resolved upon. Under some specious pretext, the French admiral unaccountably sent a boat for Smith to come on board his vessel again; and hardly had he reached the deck, when a strange sail was descried, to which immediate chase was given. Night coming on, the disaffected on board the English ship took the opportunity to get away with her; thus leaving their captain with nothing but "his cap, bretches, and waist-coat, alone among the Frenchmen." His clothes, arms, and what he had, were shared among them; and, pretending to be fearful that it was his intention to turn pirate, they made that an excuse for returning to Plymouth, where the leaders were afterwards tried for their misconduct, but managed to escape the punishment they deserved.*

* This is the inference from all the statements to be met with. "The greatest losse being mine," says Smith, "the sailers did easily excuse themselves to the merchants in England," whose faith in the enterprise was still strong

Smith seems to have been convinced that his detention was premeditated, and was occasioned by the treachery and misrepresentations of the master and mate of his own vessel, who had manifested a mutinous disposition from the time of leaving England. They made their captors believe that he "would revenge himself upon the banke, or in New found land, upon all the French he could there encounter;" and further represented—what was no doubt true—that if he had not been over-persuaded, he would have fired the ship; that if he "had but againe his armes, he would rather sinke by them, than they should have from him but the value of a bisket; and many other such-like tales," circulated for the purpose of securing an opportunity to desert him in the manner they afterwards did.

The vessel in which Smith was a prisoner soon separated from the rest of the fleet, and spent some time in cruising among the Azores; where, says he, "to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse (a narrative of his voyage to New England) thinking to have sent it to his Majesty's Councell by some ship or other, for I saw their purpose was to take all they could." They evidently construed their commission very liberally, paying little attention to either its letter

enough to induce them to provide more vessels for fishing. "Much difference," he continues, "there was betwixt the Londoners and Westerlings to ingrosse it, who now would adventure thousands, that when I first went would not adventure a groat."

or spirit whenever either were likely to stand in the way of their interest. Even the old rule, "honor among rogues," was disregarded in more than one instance. We are told that they fell in with "one Captain Barra, an English Pirat in a small ship, with some twelve peeces of ordnance, about thirty men, and neere all starved." They courteously sought relief, which was fairly promised them, and sent a boat with the lieutenant and five or six men for the expected supply; but no sooner were they on board, than the treacherous Frenchman prepared to take the rest perforce. Barra, perceiving their intentions, got ready for action, and his lieutenant "as resolutely regarded not their threats," which brought those double-dealers to the conclusion that "discretion would be the better part of valor." After deliberating some sixteen hours upon the matter, they agreed to restore the lieutenant and his men, and to furnish a quantity of provisions for a suitable compensation.

Two months was Smith detained by these freebooters; being compelled during that time to "manage their fights against the Spaniards," and to remain a prisoner in the cabin whenever they encountered any English. Quite a list of their captures, comprising some of almost every nation, is furnished by the unfortunate hero; but we must content ourselves with quoting two examples, as fair specimens of the whole: "The next we tooke was a small English man of Poole from New found land: the great cabben at this present was my prison, from whence I could see

them pillage these poore men of all they had, and half their fish. When hee was gone, they sold his poore clothes at the maine mast by an out-cry, which scarce gave each man seven pence a piece." * * * "Within a day or two after, we met a West Indies man of warre, of one hundred and sixty tuns: a fore noone we fought with her, and then tooke her with one thousand one hundred hides, fiftie chests of cutchanele, fourteen coffers of wedges of silver, eight thousand rialls of eight, and six coffers of the King of Spaine's treasure, besides the good pillage and rich coffers of many rich passengers." It is quite apparent, from the tone in which his encounters with the Spaniards is described, that he enjoyed them as a sort of pleasant pastime; and no doubt on such occasions he displayed all his accustomed bravery and martial cunning; for his captors repeatedly promised that, when they arrived in France, he should have "double satisfaction and full content," and ten thousand crowns was generally agreed upon as his share of the spoils. When, however, the cruise terminated, and their vessel made a harbor near Rochelle, the liberal promises of the captain were forgotten; and Smith, instead of gaining his freedom and something to repay his losses, found the liberty he had previously enjoyed very materially abridged. In addition to this injustice, he was accused of having burned the French colony at Port Royal in 1613; (an outrage perpetrated by Captain Argall;) but the object of this accusation was to force him to give them a

discharge before the admiralty judge, and to rely upon their generosity for satisfaction for his injuries. Although he knew himself to be much in their power, he was not disposed to comply with their iniquitous demands; and neither the terrors of imprisonment "or a worse mischiefe" could make him swerve from his integrity. At that period justice was hard to be obtained; in the expressive language of Smith, it was "a time of combustion—the Prince of Condé with his army in the field, and every poore lord, or man in authoritie, as little kings of themselves. For this injury was done me by them that set out this voyage; not by the sailers, for they were cheated of all as well as I, by a few officers aboard and the owners on shore."—To escape the awkward dilemma in which he was placed, he was willing to take his chance of meeting still greater difficulties. One night, when a fearful storm was raging, which "beat them all under hatches," he seized the opportunity of "taking French leave." Being favored by the darkness, he secretly got into the boat, and with nothing but a half pike, accidentally picked up, cut adrift, expecting to be cast upon a small island near by; but the current was so strong and the waves ran so high, that he was carried out to sea, "till it pleased God the wind so turned with the tide, that although he was all this fearfull night of gusts and raine in the sea the space of twelve houres, when many ships were driven ashore, and divers split," at last he was thrown on a marshy isle, where certain fowlers found

him, "neere drowned, and half dead with water, cold and hunger." He pawned his boat for the means of getting to Rochelle, and there learned that the ship which he had so daringly and so fortunately left, had been totally wrecked, together with the rich prize, and the captain and nearly half his crew drowned. On entering a complaint before the admiralty judge, he found many good words and fair promises, and ere long many of those that escaped drowning, told him the news they heard of his own death." Causing several of them to be arrested, their examinations did so far confirm his complaint, that the proof was held sufficient. A statement of the facts in the case, properly attested by the judge, was placed in the English ambassador's hands, at Bordeaux; but whether the claims were ever adjusted satisfactorily, or were suffered to drag out a protracted existence until all the parties were in "a higher sphere," (like the French spoliation claims, so long before our American Congress,) is one of those mysteries which we have no means of solving. It is pretty certain, however, that Smith did not realize any thing at that particular period; for he sets forth his good fortune in again meeting his "old friend Master Crampton, who no less grieved at his loss, than willingly to his power did supply his wants; and," he adds, "I must confess I was more beholden to the Frenchmen that escaped drowning in the man of warre, Madame Chanoyes at Rotchell, and the lawyers of Burdeaux, than all the rest of my country-

men I left in France." Leaving his affairs in the best train he could for adjustment, he embraced the earliest opportunity of returning to England.

CHAPTER XVI.

Smith and his Crew of Deserters: He engages again with the Plymoutheans: Publishes his Book on New England: is created Admiral of that Country---Arrival of Pocahontas---Interview with Smith—Distinction between the Laws of Nature and the Laws of State Etiquette—Smith's Letter to the Queen in behalf of Pocahontas, who is favorably received at Court and elsewhere—Amusing Incidents of Smith's first Interview with Pocahontas—Hopeless Mission of Uttamatomakkin to Number the People: His Correct Idea of King James—Change in the Affairs of Virginia—Rolfe appointed to Office—Unexpected Death of Pocahontas: Her Little Son adopted by his Uncle: Is educated in London, and returns to Virginia: His Numerous Descendants—Character of Pocahontas.

On reaching Plymouth, Smith's first care seems to have been to look after the sailors who had so villanously abandoned him to his fate among the French freebooters. "The chieftaines of this mutiny," he says, "I laid by the heels;" but he seems to have gained but little satisfaction, in any point of view, except the clearing of his character from certain vile aspersions which some of them heaped upon it.

Exemplifying that the saying, "burned children dread the fire," was not one of his axioms, he was again induced to engage with the Plymouth adventurers; but after the loss of considerable

time and money, he "found all things as untoward as before, and all their great promises nothing but aire."

We have already seen that he passed some portion of his time, while a prisoner among the French, in writing an account of his voyages, and describing the countries he had previously visited. Regarding this as a favorable opportunity for giving to the public that portion of his work which related to New England, it was accordingly printed in June, 1616, accompanied with his map of the country. The object of this publication was to awaken attention to the importance of forming settlements, and also to exhibit the great commercial advantages likely to result from the newly-discovered fisheries. So indefatigable was Smith in the promotion of his favorite object, that he spent the whole summer in visiting the cities and towns in the west of England, calling upon every person of any note, and giving them books and maps, to the number of seven thousand. "By this incitation," he says, "they seemed so well pleased, that they promised twenty saile of ships should goe with me next yeere; and in regard to my paines, charge, and former losses, the western commissioners, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the company, and them hereafter that should be joined to them, contracted with me, by articles indented under our hands, to be *Admiral* of that country [New England] during my life, and in the renewal of their letters-patents so to be nominated."

While thus zealously engaged in forwarding his schemes for the future settlement of America, Smith was unexpectedly apprised of the arrival of his friend and benefactress Pocahontas, or the *Lady Rebecca*, as she was generally called. Although greatly occupied in the business dearest to his heart, he gladly seized upon every opportunity to show that her former kindness was still as much appreciated as ever. Their meeting being quite unexpected by both, was the more agreeable, as she had heard that he was dead, and knew not to the contrary until after her arrival. She had undergone a strange transformation since they last parted; being now about twenty-two years of age, her person graceful, and her deportment gentle and prepossessing. By the diligent care of her husband and his friends, she had been "taught to speak such English as might well be understood, was well instructed in Christianity, and was become very formal and civil, after the English manner." A son, too, had blessed her marriage, of which she was extremely fond; and the Virginia Company had made liberal provision for the handsome maintenance of both herself and child. King James, at first, it is true, threw somewhat of a damper upon the happiness of Rolfe, affecting to be highly offended at his presumption in seeking an alliance with royalty. "That anointed pedant," says Stith, "had so high an idea of the *Jus divinum*, and indefeasible right of Powhatan, that he held it a great crime and misdemeanor for any private gentleman to mingle

with his imperial blood. And he might perhaps likewise think, consistently with his own principles, that the right to dominion in Virginia would thereby become vested in Mr. Rolfe's posterity." However, it passed off without any further bad consequence than a little petty exhibition of displeasure and murmuring—the results of innate and despicable meanness.

It is hardly necessary to say that, notwithstanding the numerous pre-engagements of Smith put it out of his power to render that constant attention and service to Pocahontas which he desired; yet, "being well acquainted at court, and particularly favored and countenanced by Prince Charles, he drew up, and presented to the queen, before her arrival in London, a representation of her case and desert." Considering this memorial well worthy of transmission to posterity, we take leave to help it along towards them, as far as our book may go—copying *verbatim* from the writer's own publication:

To the Most High and Vertuous Princesse Queene Anne of Great Brittaine.

Most admired Queene: The loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Majestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull. So it is,

That some ten yeeres agoe being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chiefe

King, I receiued from this great Saluage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquaus, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I euer saw in a Saluage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to preuent, notwithstanding all their threats.— After some six weeks fatting amongst those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine, and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Iames towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia, such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued.

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this Lady Pocahontas, notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit vs, and by her our jarres haue been oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the vtmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, hauing but eighteene

with mee, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gaue mee intelligence, with her best aduice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion, which if in those times had once beene dissolued, Virginia might haue lain as it was at our first arriuall to this day. Since then, this businesse hauing beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after she her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that means was relieued, peace concluded, and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first Virginian euer spake English, or had a childe in marriage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well vnderstood, worthy a princes vnderstanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maiestie, what at your best leasure our approued Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maiesties life, and howeuer this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart. As yet I neuer begged any thing of the state, or any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes, and authoritie, her birth, vertue, want and simplicitie,

doth make mee thus bold humbly to beseech your Maiestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so vnworthy to be the reporter, as myselfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maiestie: the most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as myselfe; and the rather being of so great a spirit, howeuer her stature: if she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her means: her present loue to vs and Christianitie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worst of euill, where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your seruants and subjects, would so rauish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that your Maiestie and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire: And so I humbly kisse your gracious hand.

An "Indian princess" was a curiosity that had not probably been seen in England before; and Pocahontas was eagerly sought and kindly entertained every where. Many courtiers and others of his acquaintance daily flocked to Captain Smith, to be introduced to her. "They generally confessed," says he, "that the hand of God did visibly appear in her conversion; and that they had seen many English ladies less favored, of less exact proportion, and genteel carriage than she was. She was carried to court by Lady Delaware, attended by Lord D., her husband, and divers other persons of fashion and distinction. The whole court were charmed

and surprised at the decency and grace of her deportment; and the king himself, and queen, were pleased honorably to receive and esteem her. Lady Delaware and other persons of quality also waited upon her to the masks, balls, plays, and other public entertainments, with which she was wonderfully pleased and delighted; and she would doubtless have well deserved and fully returned all this respect and kindness had she lived to arrive in Virginia."

The account of Smith's first interview with his preserver in England, is too characteristic to be omitted. It took place at Brentford, whither she had been removed on account of being annoyed by the smoke of London, and whither Smith repaired, accompanied by several friends. Of course she was as yet ignorant of the ridiculous affectation which reigned at court, and when he entered the apartment, she ran to embrace him, calling him *father;* and on perceiving that the warm outgushings of her grateful feelings were met by the cold and formal salutation required by court etiquette, she turned from him in a passionate manner, hid her face, and could not be brought to speak a word for two or three hours; so that, Smith says, he repented himself "to have writ she could speak English." After overcoming this unexpected rebuff, (for as such she regarded it) she began to talk, and reminded him of the many services she had rendered him, and of the strict alliance between him and her father.

"You promised him," said she, "that what was

yours, should be his, and he the like to you.—You called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you."

Smith here undertook to explain, probably *sotto voce*, that "circumstances altered cases;" that what would do very well in Virginia, would not be at all suitable for the meridian of London; that it would be "a breach of privilege" in him, a commoner, to call the daughter of a king by the familiar title of *child;* that it would be highly derogatory to her dignity to call him *father;* and sundry other matters of state requirement, which he at last made her comprehend, only to despise: for, obeying the impulse of nature, she exclaimed,

"You were not afraid to come into my father's country, and cause fear in him and all his people but me! And fear you here I should call you father! I tell you, then, I will; and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countryman! They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew not otherwise till I came to Plymouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin* to seek you out, and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much."

As the saying is, there was unquestionably "more truth than poetry" in this artless assertion of Mrs. Rolfe, (which is, after all, her most legitimate title,) and Smith did not attempt to gainsay it.

* Orthography of Smith; Tomocomo, according to Stith; Uttamaccomac, according to Belknap.

Her travelling attendant, just named, (it would be cruelty to repeat the name again in so brief an interval,) was a chief who had married one of Powhatan's daughters—a personage of no small consequence at home. He was not simply a fellow-traveller with his niece-in-law, but had been sent as a sort of spy and envoy extraordinary, (a combination by no means unusual among the primitive Indians,) to number the people, and to observe their strength and general condition. On arriving at Plymouth, according to his directions, "he got a long stick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could see;" but he soon became weary of that task, threw away his stick, and gave up the undertaking as impracticable.—Being asked by Powhatan, after his return, how many people there were, it is said that he replied, "Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand upon the sea-shore; for such is the number of the people in England." Sir Thomas Dale and Mr. Purchas venture to surmise that the object of his mission was not so much to number the people, as to "take an account of their corn and trees." "Namontack and such others as had been sent to England formerly, being ignorant and silly, and having seen little else besides London, had reported much of their men and houses, but thought they had small store of corn and trees; and it was therefore a general opinion among these barbarians that the English came into their country to get a supply of these, which

might be strengthened and confirmed by their sending large quantities of cedar, clapboard, and wainscot to England, and by their continual want and eagerness after corn. But this ambassador, landing in the west, and travelling thence to London, was soon undeceived, and saw great cause to admire the English plenty." When he came to London, and fell in with Smith, whom he had well known in Virginia, it did not take long to renew their acquaintance, which appears to have been satisfactory to both parties. He was lionized in a manner rather grateful to his self-esteem, there being many of all ranks who "were desirous to see and hear his behaviour." He told Smith that the main purpose of his commission from Powhatan was to find him out, not merely to present his compliments, or for old acquaintance sake, but that he might show him his English God whom he worshipped, the king, the queen, and the prince, of which he had given them such marvellous accounts in Virginia. "Concerning God," says Smith, "I told him the best I could; the king I heard he had seen; and the rest he should see when he would. He denied ever to have seen the king, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had;" when, with an expression of countenance which showed a proper estimate of the inexpressible sordidness of King James, he replied, "You gave Powhatan a white dog, which he fed as himself; but your king gave me nothing, and yet I am better than your white dog!" This unsophisticated chief had no no-

tion of the parsimony which disgraced King James throughout his life—infusing itself into every transaction, from the most trivial to the most important—amounting in many instances to what would have been regarded, in this progressive age, as the meanest kind of dishonesty.

The affairs of the Virginia Company underwent some material modification while our "illustrious strangers" sojourned in England, by means of which Captain Argall was appointed "deputy-governor of the colony, and admiral of the country and seas adjoining." A ship was fitted out for him in the beginning of 1617, and arrangements made for the return of Pocahontas and her *suite*—the treasurer and council providing suitable accommodations for herself and husband on board the admiral's ship. Mr. Rolfe was also made secretary and recorder-general of Virginia, which office was now first instituted; but his young wife, whose affectionate devotion he prized above all honors and rewards, was never again to behold her native land. Her eyes were to be closed among strangers, far from the happy scenes of her childhood, and from the anxious care of her well-beloved father, who, savage though he was, had ever manifested for her the tenderest regard. While at Gravesend, (early in 1617,) making preparations for her departure, "it pleased God," says Smith, "to take this young lady to his mercy, where she made not more sorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders, to hear and see her make so religious and godly an

end. Her little child, Thomas Rolfe, was left at Plymouth with Sir Lewis Steukley," who was desirous of undertaking the care of rearing and educating it as his own; but unforeseen misfortunes frustrating his praiseworthy design, the little fellow was subsequently taken to London, where he was educated by his uncle, Mr. Henry Rolfe, and afterwards became a person of fortune and distinction in Virginia. We are told by Stith that he left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling, by whom she had an only son, Major John Bolling, who was father to Colonel John Bolling and several daughters. These were married to Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray. "This remnant of the imperial family of Virginia, which long ran in a single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny"—many of whom are more prone to boast of their descent from Pocahontas, than to imitate the virtues and graces for which she was so singularly distinguished. It is well known that the late John Randolph—celebrated alike for his talents, his patriotism, and his eccentricities—was prouder of the relation he bore to his amiable ancestress, distant though it was, than of all his achievements as a scholar, a statesman, or a sportsman.

The historian, the poet, and the painter, have all been eloquent in depicting the character of Pocahontas; her fame is in all lands, and her praise is on all tongues. Had we the ability to

do justice to the theme, we should shrink instinctively from the task, as a vain attempt to "add a perfume to the violet." We cannot, however, resist the temptation to transplant what follows from Mr. Hillard's excellent life of Captain Smith:

"It is difficult to speak of the character of Pocahontas, without falling into extravagance. Though our whole knowledge of her is confined to a few brilliant and striking incidents, yet there is in them so complete a consistency, that reason, as well as imagination, permits us to construct the whole character from these occasional manifestations. She seems to have possessed every quality essential to the perfection of the female character; the most graceful modesty, the most winning sensibility, strong affections, tenderness and delicacy of feeling, dovelike gentleness, and most entire disinterestedness. These beautiful qualities were not in her nurtured and trained by the influences of refined life, but were the native and spontaneous growth of her heart and soul.

"Her mind had not been formed and fed by books, or the conversation of the gifted and cultivated; the nameless graces of polished life had not surrounded her from her birth, and created that tact in manner and deportment, and becoming propriety in carriage and conversation, which all well-bred people, however differing originally in refinement and delicacy of perception, seem to possess in about the same degree; nor had the coarse forms of actual life been, to her eyes, concealed by the elegant drapery which civilization throws over them. From her earliest years she had been familiar with rude ways of living, uncouth habits, and lawless passions. Yet she seems

to have been, from the first, a being distinct from and unlike her people, though in the midst of them. She reminds one of a delicate wild-flower, growing up in the cleft of a rock, where the eye can discern no soil for its roots to grasp, and sustain its slender stalk. We behold her as she came from the hands of her Maker, who seems to have created her in a spirit of rebuke to the pride of civilization, giving to an Indian girl, reared in the depths of a Virginian forest, that symmetry of feminine loveliness, which we but seldom see, with all our helps and appliances, and all that moral machinery with which we work upon the raw material of character.

"But in our admiration of what is lovely and attractive in the character of Pocahontas, we must not overlook the higher moral qualities, which command respect almost to reverence. Moral courage, dignity, and independence are among her most conspicuous traits. Before we can do justice to them, we must take into consideration the circumstances under which they were displayed. At the time when the English first appeared in Virginia, she was a child but twelve or thirteen years old. These formidable strangers immediately awakened in the breast of her people the strongest passions of hatred and fear, and Captain Smith, in particular, was looked upon as a being whose powers of injuring them were irresistible and superhuman. What could have been more natural than that this young girl should have had all these feelings exaggerated by the creative imagination of childhood, that Captain Smith should have haunted her dreams, and that she should not have had the courage to look upon the man to whom her excited fancy had given an outward appearance corresponding to his frightful attributes?

"But the very first act of her life, as known to us, puts her far above the notions and prejudices of her people, and stamps at once a seal of marked superiority upon her character. And from this elevation she never descends. Her motives are peculiar to herself, and take no tinge from the passions and opinions around her. She thinks and acts for herself, and does not hesitate, when thereto constrained, to leave her father, and trust for protection to that respect which was awakened alike by her high birth and high character among the whole Indian race. It is certainly a remarkable combination which we see in her, of gentleness and sweetness, with strength of mind, decision, and firm consistency of purpose, and would be so in any female, reared under the most favorable influences.

"The lot of Pocahontas may be considered a happy one, notwithstanding the pang which her affectionate nature must have felt, in being called so early to part from her husband and child. It was her good fortune to be the instrument, in the hand of Providence, for bringing about a league of peace and amity between her own nation and the English, a consummation most agreeable to her taste and feelings. The many favors which she bestowed upon the colonists, were by them gratefully acknowledged, and obtained for her a rich harvest of attentions in England. Her name and deeds have not been suffered to pass out of the minds of men, nor are they discerned only by the glimmering light of tradition. Captain Smith seems so have repaid the vast debt of gratitude which he owed her, by the immortality which his eloquent and feeling pen has given her. Who has not heard the beautiful story of her heroism, and who that has heard it has not felt his heart throb

quick with generous admiration? She has become one of the darlings of history, and her name is as familiar as a household word to the numerous and powerful descendants of the 'feeble folk,' whom she protected and befriended.

"She has been a powerful, though silent, advocate in behalf of the race to which she belonged. Her deeds have covered a multitude of their sins. When disgusted with numerous recitals of their cruelty and treachery, and about to pass an unfavorable judgment in our minds upon the Indian character, at the thought of Pocahontas our 'rigor relents.' With a softened heart, we are ready to admit that there must have been fine elements in a people from among whom such a being could spring."

Having thus disposed of the characters who figured in this necessary episode of our history, we shall hereafter confine ourselves to incidents more immediately connected with Captain Smith.

CHAPTER XVII.

Smith's Efforts to colonize New England and establish Fisheries—Causes of Holland's Prosperity—Resources of New England—Appeal to the Spirit of Independence—Death of Powhatan: His Successor—Treachery of Opechancanough—Jack of the Feather—Horrible Massacre of the Settlers: its Effect upon the Colony—Retribution—Offer of Smith—Slanders of Argall and his Associates against the Colony—Favorable Testimony of Smith: Recapitulation of his Virginian Adventures: His Answers to Interrogatories propounded by Commissioners to investigate the Affairs of the Colony—Abrogation of the Charter of the Virginia Company—Smith engages in the publication of several Valuable Works: His Death: Prominent Characteristics.

Captain Smith's book, entitled, "New England's Tryal," was the first to recommend the formation of new settlements in this unregarded country; "but after the business was made plain, and likely to prosper," some who had at once eagerly embarked in it, not only forgot *his* claims and *their* promises, but also endeavored to deprive him of the credit of having originated the project. The perishing of his bright prospects at Plymouth, he could submit to with becoming fortitude and Christian resignation; but when he perceived a lukewarmness on the part of many others, who were foremost in their proffers of assistance at the onset, he almost gave up in despair, concluding that "all availed no more than to hew rocks with oyster-shells." As a last resort, he "caused two or three thousand of his books to be printed; one thousand of which, with a great many maps, both of Vir-

ginia and New England, he presented to thirty of the chief companies of London," offering "to ease them of the superfluity of the most of their companies that had but health and strength to labor," if they would but put to the right use a stock of about five thousand pounds. He waited nearly a year, of course in a state of anxious solicitude, to learn the result of their deliberations; which, he says, "was to me a greater toile and torment than to have been in New England about my businesse but with bred and water, and what I could get there by my labor. But in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge as all the rest."

Despite the untoward discouragements encountered by Smith, which would have effectually checked the exertions of any ordinary individual, he pertinaciously continued to urge upon public attention not only the feasibility of his colonizing schemes, but also the importance of the fisheries which existed throughout the whole coast of New England. Among his arguments and deductions, are many matters which exhibit a depth of reasoning unsurpassed by the most accomplished scholars, and which subsequent developments prove to have been well founded. The single advantage of the trade in fish is forcibly insisted on, and is clearly illustrated by the following allusion to the prosperity of Holland:

"Who doth not know that the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing at a great charge and

labour in all weathers in the open sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious? And by the vending this poore commoditie to the Easterlings for as meane—which is wood, flax, pitch, tarre, rozen, cordage, and such like, which they exchange againe to the French, Spaniards, Portugals, and English, &c., for what they want—are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but Venice of twice their magnitude is so well furnished, with so many fair cities, goodly townes, strong fortresses, and that abundance of shipping, and all sorts of merchandize, as well of gold, silver, pearles, diamonds, pretious stones," &c. * * * * "What voiages and discoveries—east and west, north and south—yea, about the world—make they? What an army by sea and land have they long maintained, in despight of one of the greatest princes of the world! And never could the Spaniard, with all his mines of gold and silver, pay his debts, his friends, and army, half so truly as the Hollanders still have done by this contemptible trade of fish! Divers (I know) may alleage many other assistances; but this is the chiefest ruine, and the sea the source of those silver streames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the onely patterne of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *primum mobile* that turns all their spheares to this height of plentie, strength, honor, and exceeding great admiration." * * * "If these can gain, why should we more doubt than they? * * * Here every man may

be master of his own labour and land; and if he have nothing but his hands, he may set up his trade, and by industry quickly grow rich, spending but half that time well which in England we abuse in idlenesse, worse, or as ill. Here is ground as good as any lieth in the height of forty-one, forty-two, forty-three, &c., which is as temperate and as fruitful as any other parallel in the world."

After expatiating upon the inexhaustible resources of the new country, (the fishery being always kept prominent,) he reverts to the advantages inseparable from forming settlements, and thus appeals to the higher principles which should actuate men in aiding his plans:

"Who can desire more content that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to advance his fortunes, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of vertue and magnanimity, what to such a minde can be more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his owne industry without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeale in religion, what can he doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seeke to convert those poore salvages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite the charge and paine? What so truly sutes with honor and honesty as the discovering things unknowne, erecting townes, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, re-

forming things unjust, and teaching vertue and gaine to our native mother-country? * * * "So farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and, remembering thee, ever honor that remembrance with praise."

Thus Smith continued for several years to iterate and reiterate his favorable "conclusions" in regard to New England. His publications must have cost a large amount of money, to say nothing of the loss of his valuable time. But although he reaped no personal benefit, many others profited by his suggestions; and it is undeniable that the chief impetus given to emigration hitherwards, and more particularly towards the northern and eastern coasts, was attributable, directly or indirectly, to his unceasing labors.

Leaving the captain for a brief space, let us once more turn our attention to the affairs of the settlers in Virginia. Powhatan did not long survive the death of his daughter Pocahontas, but died the year following (1618), and was succeeded by his second brother, Opitchapan, "an easy, decrepit, and unactive prince," who subsequently became a most pliant tool in aiding the wily designs of Opechancanough, the prime mover in all the treachery which afterwards marked the conduct of the Indians.

Notwithstanding they both renewed and confirmed the league with the English, by which every man was guarantied the peaceable pursuit of his ordinary avocations and enjoyments, yet the Indians were, at the same time, busily and extensively plotting the destruction of the set-

tlement "at one fell swoop;" and at length, by means of a well-contrived arrangement of Opechancanough's, their murderous design was but too far successful. So completely did they blind the settlers by their duplicity, that, says an old chronicler, they even "borrowed our boats to transport themselves over the river to consult on the devilish murder that ensued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselves converted to Christianitie) prevented." Although somewhat prolix, perhaps the following account of this shocking event, condensed from Stith, may be more acceptable than a modern version:

"This year (1622) is rendered most memorable in our annals, by a cruel and bloody massacre, concerted by Opechancanough and the Indians, and executed on the English colony, on the 22d of March, upon the following occasion and manner. There was a noted Indian, called Nemattanow, who was wont, out of bravery and parade, to dress himself up, in a strange antic and barbaric fashion, with feathers; which therefore obtained him, among the English, the name of *Jack of the Feather*. This Indian was highly renowned among his countrymen for courage and policy; and was universally esteemed by them the greatest war-captain of those times. He had been in many skirmishes and engagements with the English, and bravely exposed his person; yet by his activity, conduct, and good fortune, he had always escaped without a wound. This, aided by his craft and

ambition, easily wrought in the minds of those ignorant and superstitious barbarians, a fond conceit that he was invulnerable and immortal. This captain came to the house of one Morgan, who had many such commodities as suited the rude taste of the Indians. Being smit with the desire of some of those baubles, he persuaded Morgan to go with him to Pamunkey, upon the promise and assurance of a certain and advantageous traffic. But, upon the way, he murdered the poor credulous Englishman; and within two or three days returned again to his house. There were only two sturdy lads there, the late Morgan's servants; who seeing him wear their master's cap, asked for their master, and Jack frankly told them he was dead. Being confirmed in their suspicion, they seized him, and endeavored to carry him before Mr. Thorpe, who then lived at Berkeley. But Jack so provoked them by his resistance and insolence, that at last they shot him down, and put him into a boat, in order to carry him before the governor, who was then within seven or eight miles of the place. On the way, our fainting immortal felt the pangs of death very strong upon him, and earnestly entreated the boys to grant him two things: first, never to make it known that he was slain by a bullet; and secondly, to bury him among the English, that the certain knowledge and monument of his mortality might be still concealed, and kept from the sight of his countrymen.

"As to this warrior, [Jack of the Feather]

Opechancanough was so far from being in his favor, that he had sent word to Sir George Yeardley, some time before, that he should be content if his throat were cut. Yet he being a popular man, and much lamented by the Indians, Opechancanough pretended, the better to inflame and exasperate them, to be much grieved at his death, and was very loud at first in his threats of revenge. But the reason and justice of the thing being evinced, and receiving also some stern and resolute answers from the English, he cunningly dissembled his intent for the present, and treated a messenger, sent to him about the middle of March, with extreme civility and kindness, assuring him that he held the peace so firm, that the sky should fall sooner than it should be violated on his part. And such was the treachery and dissimulation of the rest of the Indians, that, but two days before, they kindly conducted the English through the woods, and sent home one that lived among them to learn their language. Nay, on the very morning of that fatal day, as also the evening before, they came, as at other times, unarmed into the houses of the English, with deer, turkies, fish, fruits, and other things to sell; and in some places sat down to breakfast with them. Yet so general was the combination, and their plot so well laid, to cut off the whole colony in one day, and at the same instant, that they had all warning, one from another, through all their habitations, though far distant from each other, and every party and nation had their stations

appointed, and parts assigned at the plantations of the English, some being directed to one place and some to another.

"The English, on the other hand, were so confident and secure, that there could seldom be met with in their houses a sword or a fire-lock, and most of their plantations were seated in a scattered and straggling manner, as a convenient situation or a choice vein of rich land invited them; and indeed it was generally thought, the further from neighbours the better. All Indians were kindly received into their houses, fed at their tables, and even lodged in their bedchambers; so that they seemed entirely to have coalesced, and to live together as one people.

"The hour appointed being come, and the Indians, by reason of their familiarity, knowing exactly in what places and quarters every Englishman was to be found, rose upon them at once, sparing neither sex nor age—man, woman, nor child; and they were so quick and sudden in their execution, that few perceived the weapon or blow that brought them to their end. Some entered their houses under color of trade; others drew them abroad under specious pretences; whilst the rest fell suddenly on those that were at their several works and labors. And thus, in one hour, and almost at the same instant, fell three hundred and forty-seven—men, women, and children; most of them by their own tools and weapons, and all by the hands of a perfidious, naked, and dastardly

people, who durst not stand the presenting of a staff in manner of a firelock, nor an uncharged piece in the hands of a woman. Neither were they content with their lives only, but they fell again upon their dead bodies, defacing, dragging, and mangling them into many pieces, and carrying some parts away with a base and brutish triumph.

"This slaughter was a deep and grievous wound to the yet weak and infant colony; but it would have been much more general, and almost universal, if God had not put it into the heart of a converted Indian to make a discovery. This convert, whose name was Chanco, lived with one Richard Pace, who treated him as his own son. The night before the massacre, another Indian, his brother, lay with him; and telling him the king's command, and that the execution would be performed the next day, he urged him to rise and kill Pace, as he intended to do by Perry, his friend. As soon as his brother was gone, the Christian Indian rose, and went and revealed the whole matter to Pace; who immediately gave notice thereof to Captain William Powel, and having secured his own house, rowed off before day to Jamestown, and informed the governor of it. By this means, their design was prevented at Jamestown, and all such plantations as could possibly get intelligence in time. For wherever they saw the English upon their guard, or a single musket presented, they ran off, and abandoned their attempt."*

* Stith.

It would be superfluous to dwell upon the useless regrets attendant upon this wholesale butchery, both among the remaining settlers and among the people in England. Many were the projects set on foot to remedy what was not remedial; and although all parties interested, and particularly the Virginia Company, were somewhat staggered "to understand of such a supposed impossible loss, as that so many should fall by the hands of men so contemptible," yet all this did not so discourage the adventurers as to debar them from continuing to dispatch divers ships with such supplies and assistance as were deemed necessary for resuscitating and invigorating the colony.

In this trying emergency, application was made to Captain Smith for such suggestions as he might choose to offer relative to the future regulation of the colony, and to the subjugation and civilization of the Indians. He had ever been of the opinion that gentleness and kindness were not the most effective means of bringing the Indians over; and in this opinion he was supported by Mr. Stockham and Mr. Whitaker, two clergymen of note among the settlers. It seemed to be the general impression that "Mars and Minerva should go hand in hand, as well in their conversion as in all other transactions and intercourse." With a promptitude and devotion characteristic of the man, Smith tendered his services to the company, and proposed "that they should transport him, with an hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, and all proper provisions and

ammunition; and should give him a bark of an hundred tons, with means and materials to build six or seven shallops, to transport his men from place to place, as occasion required; and then he undertook to form a flying camp, and to range about and torment the Indians, till he either obliged them to quit the country, or brought them into such fear and subjection, that every man should follow his business in peace and security. And as to the support and subsistence of this party, he thought, if his majesty were truly informed of the necessity and benefit of the thing, he would give the customs of Virginia for a time. For, without some such method, it was much to be doubted whether there would come, in a few years, either customs or any thing else from thence to England. And he doubted not but that the planters would, according to their several abilities, contribute towards so useful and necessary a design. But he insisted that the governors should not be permitted, by virtue of their authority, to take his men away, or any thing else, to employ them, as they thought proper. And he farther promised, to make the best use of his experience, as well within the limits of Virginia as New England, to bring them both into one map, with all the countries that lay between them. As to the reward of his own pains and danger, he asked not any thing but what he could raise from the proper labor of the savages themselves. This proposal was well approved by most that heard it; but such were their divisions and confusion at that time,

that he could obtain no other answer, but that the expense would be too great, and their stock was exhausted; and they thought the planters should do something of that nature themselves, if they could find sufficient means to effect it. However, he was given to understand, as he tells us, that if he would undertake the thing upon his own private account, he might have the company's leave; provided, they might have half the pillage. But he rejected this intimation with scorn; thinking, that all the pillage of those poor and naked barbarians, except a little corn, to be had at some times of the year, would not, in twenty years, amount to twenty pounds."*

A murderous retribution, alike savage as the act which occasioned it, was visited on the Indians: their villages were razed, their crops destroyed, and themselves shot down with as little compunction as so many wild beasts. Indeed, brutality in their persecution was for a long time afterwards regarded as a merit worthy of high esteem, and the consequence was an almost indiscriminate slaughter, in which the innocent were frequently involved with the guilty.

About this time, several discontented adventurers, at the head of whom was Captain Argall, were at great pains to discourage the plans of settlement adopted by the Virginia Company. Written and oral statements were circulated, which were well calculated to exercise a disastrous effect upon the extension and prosperity of the infant colony, and which finally occasioned

* Stith.

the appointment of commissioners to investigate the aspersions so illiberally made against the situation of the colony itself, and against many who were actively engaged in promoting its success. Of course, in an emergency of this kind, Smith was foremost in rendering his testimony for the right; and, in an early stage of the proceedings, he furnished the following synopsis of what his experience had taught him relative to the colony and its prospects:

"HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN: for so many faire and nauigable riuers so neere adioyning, and piercing thorow so faire a naturall land, free from any inundations, or large fenny vnwholesome marshes, I haue not seene, read, nor heard of: and for the building of cities, townes and wharfage, if they will vse the meanes, where there is no more ebb nor floud, nature in few places affoords any so conuenient, for salt marshes or quagmires. In this tract of Iames towne riuer I know very few; some small marshes and swamps there are, but more profitable than hurtfull; and I think there is more low marsh ground betwixt Eriffe and Chelsey, than Kecoughtan and the falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the course of the riuer.

"Being inioyned by our commission not to vnplant nor wrong the saluages, because the channel was so neere the shore, where now is Iames towne, then a thicke groue of trees; wee cut them downe, where the saluages pretending as much kindnesse as could bee, they hurt and slew one and twenty of vs in two houres: at this time our diet was for most part water and bran, and three ounces of little better stuffe in bread for fiue men a meale, and thus we liued neere

three moneths: our lodgings vnder boughes of trees, the saluages being our enemies, whom we neither knew no vnderstood; occasions I thinke sufficient to make men sicke and die.

"Necessity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try conclusions amongst the saluages, that we got provision which recouered the rest being most sicke. Six weekes I was led captiue by those barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled, yet it pleased God to make their great king's daughter the meanes to returne me safe to Iames towne, and releeue our wants, and then our common-wealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and fiue.

"Being supplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelue men in a boat of three tuns, I spent fourteene weeks in those large waters; the contents of the way of my boat protracted by the skale of proportion, was about three thousand miles, besides the river we dwell vpon, where no Christian knowne euer was, and our diet for the most part what we could finde, yet but one died.

"The saluages being acquainted that by command from England we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to break our commission and instructions, cause Powhatan fly his countrey, and take the king of Pamavuke prisoner; and also to keepe the king of Paspahegh in shackles, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their kings paid vs contribution, and the offending saluages sent to Iames towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares I staid there, I had not a man slaine.

"All those conclusions being not able to preuent

the bad euents of pride and idlenesse, hauing receiued another supply of seuentie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: in following the strict directions from England to doe that was impossible at that time; so it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat, but what the countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who liued vpon oysters in Iune and Iuly, with a pint of corn a week for a man lying under trees, and 120 for the most part liuing vpon sturgion, which was dried til we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks but seuen died.

"It is true, we had of tooles, armes, and munition sufficient, some aquavitæ, vinegar, meale, pease, and oatmeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not sufficient for six moneths, though by the bils of loading the proportions sent vs, would well haue contented vs, notwithstanding we sent home ample proofes of pitch, tar, sope ashes, wainskot, clapboord, silke grasse, iron ore, some sturgion and glasse, saxefras, cedar, cypris, and blacke walnut, crowned Powhatan, sought the Monacans countrey, according to the instructions sent vs, but they caused vs neglect more necessary workes: they had better haue giuen for pitch and sope ashes one hundred pound a tun in Denmarke: wee also maintained fiue or six seuerall plantations.

"Iames towne being burnt, wee rebuilt it and three forts more, besides the church and store-house, we had about fortie or fiftie seuerall houses to keepe vs warme and dry, inuironed with a palizado of fourteene or fifteene foot, and each as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire well of fresh water in the fort, where wee had three bulwarks, foure and twenty peece of ordnance, of culverin, demiculverin, sacar and falcon, and most well

mounted vpon conuenient plat-formes, planted one hundred acres of corne. We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred seuenty seuen men, boies, and women, by whose labours Virginia being brought to this kinde of perfection, the most difficulties past, and the foundation thus laid by this small meanes; yet because we had done no more, they called in our commission, tooke a new in their owne names, and appointed vs neere as many offices and officers as I had souldiers, that neither knew vs nor wee them, without our consent or knowledge; since there haue gone more than one hundred ships of other proportions, and eight or ten thousand people. Now if you please to compare what hath beene spent, sent, discouered and done this fifteene yeares, by that we did in the three first yeares, and every gouernour that hath beene there since, giue you but such an account as this, you may easily finde what hath beene the cause of those disasters in Virginia.

"Then came in Captaine Argall, and Master Sedan, in a ship of Master Cornelius, to fish for sturgion, who had such good prouision, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furnished than euer.

"Not long after came in seuen ships, with about three hundred people; but rather to supplant vs than supply vs, their admirall with their authoritie being cast away in the Bermudas, very angry they were we had made no bette. prouision for them. Seuen or eight weekes we withstood the invndations of these disorderly humors, till I was neere blowne to death with gun-powder, which occasioned me to returne for England.

"In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas, I left the

countrey, as is formerly related, with three ships, seuen boats, commodities to trade, haruest newly gathered, eight weeks prouision of corne and meale, about fiue hundred persons, three hundred muskets, shot, powder, and match, with armes for more men than we had. The saluages, their language and habitation, well knowne to two hundred expert souldiers; nets for fishing, tooles of all sorts, apparell to supply their wants: six mares and a horse, fiue or six hundred swine, many more powltry, what was brought or bred, but victuall there remained.

"Hauing spent some fiue yeares, and more than fiue hundred pounds in procuring the letters patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about New England, &c.—Thus these nineteene yeares I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue been preuented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleeue me till now too deerely they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left all than vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two countries haue I one foot of land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all, and though I see ordinarily those two countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of Virginia, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

"For the books and maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence, and beare with their errors till I haue done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirme them both there and here, vpon such grounds as I haue propounded, which is to haue but fifteene hundred men to subdue againe the saluages, fortifie the countrey, discouer that yet vnknowne, and both defend and feed their colony, which I most humbly refer to his maiesties' most iudiciall iudgement, and the most honourable lords of his priuy councell, you his trusty and well-beloued commissioners, and the honourable company of planters and well-willers to Virginia, New England and Sommer-Ilands."

Not content with the preceding general statement, the commissioners propounded seven specific questions, which, with the answers, are recorded by Smith as follows:

Question 1. *What conceiue you is the cause the plantation hath prospered no better, since you left it in so good a forwardnesse?*

Answer. Idlenesse and carelessnesse brought all I did in three yeeres in six moneths to nothing, and of fiue hundred I left, scarce threescore remained, and had Sir Thomas Gates not got from the Bermudas, I thinke they had beene all dead before they could be supplied.

Quest. 2. *What conceiue you should be the cause, though the country be good, there comes nothing but tobacco?*

Answ. The oft altering of gouernours it seemes causes euery man make vse of his time, and because

corne was stinted at two shillings six pence the bushell; and tobacco at three shillings the pound, and they value a man's labour a yeere worth fifty or threescore pound, but in corne not worth ten pound, presuming tobacco will furnish them with all things; now make a man's labour in corne worth threescore pound, and in tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they haue corne sufficient to entertaine all commers, and keepe their people in health to doe any thing, but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

Quest. 3. *What conceiue you to haue beene the cause of the massacre, and had the saluages had the vse of any peeces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?*

Answ. The cause of the massacre was the want of marshall discipline, and because they would haue all the English had by destroying those they found so carelessly secure, that they were not prouided to defend themselves against any enemy, being so dispersed as they were. In my time, though Captaine Nuport furnished them with swords by truck, and many fugitiues did the like, and some peeces they got accidentally, yet I got the most of them againe, and it was death to him that should shew a saluage the vse of a peece.—Since I vnderstand they became so good shot, they were imployed for fowlers and huntsmen by the English.

Quest. 4. *What charge think you would haue setled the gouernment both for defence and planting when you left it?*

Answ. Twenty thousand pound would haue hired good labourers and mechanicall men, and haue furnished them with cattell and all necessaries, and 100. of them would haue done more then a thousand of

those that went, though the Lord Laware, Sir Ferdinando Waynman, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale were perswaded to the contrary, but when they had tried, they confessed their error.

Quest. 5. *What conceiue you would be the remedy and the charge?*

Answ. The remedy is to send souldiers and all sorts of labourers and necessaries for them, that they may be there by next Michaelmas, the which to doe well will stand you in fiue thousand pound, but if his maiesty would please to lend two of his ships to transport them, lesse would serue, besides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Quest. 6. *What thinke you are the defects of the gouernment both here and there?*

Answ. The multiplicity of opinions here, and officers there, makes such delaies by questions and formalitie, that as much time is spent in complement as in action; besides, some are so desirous to imploy their ships, hauing six pounds for euery passenger, and three pounds for euery tun of goods, at which rate a thousand ships may now better be procured than one at the first, when the common stocke defrayed all fraughts, wages, prouisions and magazines, whereby the ships are so pestred, as occasions much sicknesse, diseases and mortality, for though all the passengers die they are sure of their fraught; and then all must be satisfied with orations, disputations, excuses and hopes. As for the letters of aduice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written, men would beleeue there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were well, to which error here they haue beene euer much subiect; and there not to beleeue, or not to releeue the true and poore estate of that colony, whose fruits

were commonly spent before they were ripe, and this losse is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the losse of their aduentures, and so they thinke, or will not take notice; but it is so with all men: but howsoeuer they thinke or dispose of all things at their pleasure, I am sure not my selfe onely, but a thousand others haue not onely spent the most of their estates, but the most part haue lost their liues and all, onely but to make way for the trial of more new conclusions, and he that now will aduenture but twelve pounds ten shillings, shall haue better respect and as much favour than he that sixteene yeare agoe aduentured as much, except he have money as the other hath, but though he haue aduentured fiue hundred pound, and spent there neuer so much time, if hee haue no more and not able to begin a family of himselfe, all is lost by order of court.

But in the beginning it was not so, all went then out of one purse, till those new deuices haue consumed both money and purse; for at first there were but six patentees, now more than a thousand, then but thirteen Counsailors, now not lesse then a hundred; I speake not of all, for there are some both honourable and honest, but of those officers which, did they manage their owne estates no better than the affaires of Virginia, they would quickly fall to decay so well as it; but this is most euident, few officers in England it hath caused to turne banquerupts, nor for all their complaints would leaue their places, neither yet any of their officers there, nor few of the rest but they would be at home, but fewer aduenturers here will adventure any more till they see the businesse better established, although there be some so wilfully improuident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead,

or want themselues, they die or liue but poorely for want of necessaries, and to thinke the old planters can releeue them were two much simplicity; for who here in England is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, haue they neuer so much; much lesse in Virginia, where they want for themselues. Now the generall complaint saith, that pride, couetousnesse, extortion and oppression in a few that ingrosses all, then sell all againe to the comminalty at what rate they please, yea euen men, women and children for who will giue most, occasions no small mischiefe amongst the planters.

As for the company, or those that doe transport them, prouided of necessaries, God forbid but they should receiue their charges againe with aduantage, or that masters there should not haue the same priuilege ouer their seruants as here, but to sell him or her for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the company hath sent ouer for eight or ten pounds at the most, without regard how they shall be maintained with apparell, meat, drinke and lodging, is odious, and their fruits sutable, therefore such merchants it were better they were made such merchandize themselues, than suffered any longer to vse that trade, and those are defects sufficient to bring a well setled common-wealth to misery, much more Virginia.

Quest. 7. *How thinke you it may be rectified?*

Answ. If his maiestie would please to intitle it to his crowne, and yearely that both the gouernours here and there may giue their accounts to you, or some that are not ingaged in the businesse, that the common stocke bee not spent in maintaining one hundred men for the gouernour, one hundred for two deputies, fifty for the treasurer, fiue and twenty for the secretary, and more for the marshall and other

officers who were neuer there nor aduentured any thing, but onely preferred by fauour to be lords ouer them that broke the ice and beat the path, and must teach them what to doe, if any thing happen well, it is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers must endure the worst, yet not five hundred of them haue so much as one of the others; also that there bee some present course taken to maintaine a garrison to suppresse the saluages, till they be able to subsist, and that his maiesty would please to remit his custome, or it is to be feared they will lose custome and all, for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and meanes to maintaine them, not such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in England, yet when the foundation is laid, as I haue said, and a common-wealth established, then such there may better be constrained to labour than here: but to rectifie a common-wealth with debaushed people is impossible, and no wise man would throw himselfe into such a society, that intends honestly, and knowes what he vndertakes, for there is no countrey to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence must be by labour.

For the gouernment I thinke there is as much adoe about it as the kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland, men here conceiting Virginia as they are, erecting as many stately offices as officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the countrey, where a constable were as good as twenty of their captaines, and three hundred good souldiers and laborers better then all the rest that goe onely to get the fruits of other mens labours by the title of an office. Thus they spend Michaelmas rent in midsummer moone, and would gather their harvest before they haue planted their corne.

As for the maintenance of the officers, the first that went neuer demanded any, but aduentured good summes, and it seemes strange to me, the fruits of all their labours. Besides the expence of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and such multitudes of people, those collaterall officers could not maintaine themselves so well as the old did; and hauing now such liberty to doe as to the saluages what they will; the others had not. I more than wonder they haue not fiue hundred saluages to worke for them towards their generall maintenance, and as many more to returne some content and satisfaction to the aduenturers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can heare nor see nothing but miserable complaints; therefore vnder your correction to rectifie all, is with all expedition to passe the authority to them who will releeue them, lest all bee consumed ere the differences be determined. And except his maiestie vndertake it, or by act of parliament some small tax may be granted throughout his dominions, as a penny vpon euery poll, called a head-penny; two pence vpon euery chimney, or some such collection might be raised, and that would be sufficient to giue a good stocke and many seruants to sufficient men of any facultie, and transport them freely for paying onely homage to the crowne of England, and such duties to the publike good as their estates increased, reason should require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you please, for all those disasters would yet gladly goe to spend their liues there, and by this meanes more good might be done in one yeare, than all those pety particular vndertakings will effect in twenty.

For the patent, the king may, if he please, rather take it from them that haue it, than from vs who had

it first, pretending to his maiesty what great matters they would doe, and how little we did, and for any thing I can conceiue, had we remained still as at first, it is not likely we could haue done much worse; but those oft altering of gouernments are not without much charge, hazard and losse. If I be too plaine, I humbly craue your pardon; but you requested me, therefore I doe but my duty. For the nobility, who knowes not how freely both in their purses and assistances many of them haue beene to aduance it, committing the managing of the businesse to inferior persons, amongst whom questionlesse also many haue done their utmost best, sincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion and vnderstanding; yet grosse errors haue beene committed, but no man liues without his fault; for my owne part, I haue so much adoe to amend my owne, I haue no leisure to look into any man's particular, but those in generall I conceiue to be true. And so I humbly rest.

Yours to command, I. S.

The facts elicited in the course of these investigations were made a pretext for abrogating the charter of the Virginia Company, and the management of its affairs was undertaken by the king himself, and by creatures who were ever ready and willing to do his bidding. But the claims of Smith to advancement were wholly neglected, and he was left to the poor consolation of seeing hundreds avail themselves of the fruits of his enterprise, while he was left to bear up as best he could against the manifold disappointments resulting from the non-fulfilment of promises made to promote his favorite scheme

of colonizing New England. He did not, however, brood over his discouragements in idleness: his time must have been much occupied in gathering *materiel* for several works, which were published between the years 1623 and 1630, and which were highly serviceable in developing the resources of the new world. In 1627, "the General History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles," made its appearance—the narrative part of which was made up of the journals and letters of those who were concerned with him, intermixed with his own observations. This was followed in 1629 by "the True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith," which is preserved entire in the second volume of Churchill's Collections, and to which we are mainly indebted for the facts embraced in this work. "In the conclusion, he made some addition to the history of Virginia, Bermuda, New England, and the West Indies, respecting things which had come to his knowledge after the publication of his general history. He stated the inhabitants of Virginia in 1628 at five thousand, and their cattle about the same number. Their produce was chiefly tobacco, but those few who attended to their gardens had all sorts of fruit and vegetables in great abundance and perfection."*

At the time of his death, he was engaged on a work, which he entitled "the History of the Sea," no portion of which was probably ever published, as it is not to be found in any collec-

* Belknap.

tion in Europe or America. The precise time and manner of his death is not now satisfactorily known, but "by a note in Josslyn's Voyage it appears that he died in 1631, at London, in the fifty-second year of his age." The various qualities for which he was distinguished, are admirably set forth by Mr. Hillard, from whose work the following extracts are taken:

"A very superficial acquaintance with the events of Captain Smith's life will be sufficient to convince any one that he was a man cast in an uncommon mould, and formed alike for the planning and conducting of great enterprises. He had that happy combination of qualities, which gave symmetry to his character, and enabled him to assume the most important duties and responsibilities. His constitutional courage was tempered with coolness and self-command. The warmth and enthusiasm of his temperament never perverted the soundness of his judgment. His zeal was not a transient flame, quenched by the first experience of difficulty and danger, but a deep-seated, indestructible principle, which gained strength from opposition, and vigor from defeat.

"The perseverance with which he prosecuted his enterprises equalled the ardor with which he undertook them. His energy was so great and overflowing, that he could not be confined to any one sphere of duty. We see him at the same time performing the offices of a provident governor, a valiant soldier, and an industrious laborer, capable alike of commanding and executing. He dreaded nothing so much as repose, inactivity, and ease. He seemed to court the dangers, toils, and sufferings, which other

men shrink from, or encounter only from a sense of duty.

"If we were called upon to say what was his ruling and characteristic trait, we should reply, *enthusiasm*, using that word in its highest and best sense, as the quality which leads a man to devote himself to some great and good object with courage, constancy, and self-abandonment, and to exert in its advancement and behalf all the energies of his nature, undaunted by natural obstacles, unruffled by opposition, and uninfluenced by the insinuations of the malicious, the open violence of enemies, and the lukewarmness of selfish friends. For the first thirty years of his life, we see him without any predominant object of interest or pursuit, obeying the impulses of a fiery valor and a restless spirit of enterprise, 'seeking the bubble reputation' in desperate skirmishes in an obscure corner of Europe, eagerly embracing every opportunity of exposing himself to danger and of winning glory, prodigal of life and covetous of honor.

"But, fortunately for himself and for the world, in his early manhood he was induced to devote himself to the settlement of America, an object attractive enough to keep his imagination perpetually kindled, and vast enough to task all his powers, the prosecution of which unfolded in him high qualities of mind and character, that the iron routine of the camp could never have called forth, and which secured him a peaceful glory, far more durable and valuable than the laurels of a hundred victories. Henceforward this great interest absorbed and monopolized him. It supplied the place of friends, kindred, and domestic ties. He embraced it and labored for it with a disinterestedness and a sense of duty, worthy both of himself and of the cause. He never made it the

means of securing pecuniary gain or worldly advancement, being content to point out to others the way to wealth, while he remained poor himself. He never coveted official dignity ; and, when he obtained it, he made it no excuse for indolence or self-indulgence, and did not regard it as of so delicate a texture as to render a dignified and lofty seclusion necessary to preserve it unimpaired.

"Captain Smith must have been something more than mortal, had he possessed so many brilliant and substantial good qualities without any tincture of alloy. The frankness of his character reveals to us his faults no less than his virtues. He was evidently a man of an impatient and irritable temperament, expecting to find, in every department of life, the prompt and unhesitating character of military obedience. He had keen sensibility and lively feelings, and was apt to regard as studied neglect or intentional hostility, what was in fact only lukewarm indifference. His conviction of the importance of discipline and subordination made him sometimes imperious and tyrannical. The energy and decision of his character led him sometimes to adopt questionable means to secure a desired result. His high spirit and independence made him perhaps unnecessarily rough and haughty in his communications to his superiors in station and authority.

"Nothing is more difficult than, in our intercourse with those above us in rank, influence, or consideration, to hit that exact medium of deportment, which is demanded alike by self-respect and by respect to others, and which is equally removed from slavish fawning and from the unbending stiffness generated by undue notions of self-importance. We have Captain Smith's own authority that he had a great

many enemies. These were undoubtedly made by his haughty bearing, his uncompromising freedom of peech, the warmth of his temper, and the impatience of his blood. His resentments were lively, his antipathies strong, and prudence had never dictated to him to refrain from the expression of them.

"There is one circumstance which may serve to palliate some of these weaknesses in Captain Smith. His birth was nothing more than respectable in an age when the greatest importance was attached to nobility. It is easy to perceive that this peculiarity in his fortunes may have produced in him a soreness of feeling and jealousy of temper; may have made him suspicious and fearful, lest he should not receive from others the respect and consideration which he knew were due to his personal merit. This inequality between one's lot and one's merits and wishes is a severe trial of character, and, in men of high spirit, is apt to beget a morbid sensitiveness and pride, a surly independence of manner, and a painful uneasiness lest their dignity should be ruffled by too familiar contact. To this source is undoubtedly to be ascribed much of that tartness of expression which we find frequently in his writings, and of that haughtiness which we have every reason to suppose was characteristic of his deportment.

"With the exception of Sir Walter Raleigh (and perhaps Richard Hakluyt) no one did so much towards colonizing and settling the coast of North America. The state of Virginia is under peculiar obligations to him as its virtual founder; since, without his remarkable personal qualities and indefatigable exertions, the colony at Jamestown could never have taken root. In reading the history of his administration, we are made to feel, in regard to him,

as we do in regard to Washington, when we contemplate the events of the American Revolution: that he was a being specially appointed by Divine Providence to accomplish the work intrusted to him. He was exactly fitted for the place which he filled, and not one of his many remarkable gifts could have been spared without serious detriment.

"His claims upon the gratitude of the people of New England are hardly inferior. He was the first to perceive the advantages held out by it as a place of settlement, in spite of its bitter skies and iron-bound coast, and to correct the erroneous, unfavorable impressions prevalent concerning it. Though he himself had no direct share in the settlement of Plymouth, yet without doubt it was owing to the interest which had been awakened by his writings and personal exertions, that the ranks of the colonists were so soon swelled by those accessions of men of character and substance, which gave them encouragement and insured them prosperity and success. It was the peculiar good fortune of Captain Smith to stand in so interesting a relation to the two oldest states in the union, and through them to the northern and southern sections of the country. The debt of gratitude due to him is national and American, and so should his glory be. Wherever upon this continent the English language is spoken, his deeds should be recounted, and his memory hallowed. His services should not only be not forgotten, but should be 'freshly remembered.' His name should not only be honored by the silent canvas and the cold marble, but his praises should dwell living upon the lips of men, and should be handed down by fathers to their children. Poetry has imagined nothing more stirring and romantic than his life and adventures, and History,

upon her ample page, has recorded few more honorable and spotless names."

Having transplanted this well-deserved eulogy in prose, we shall conclude our cursory memoir of this admirable character by a few specimens of the poetical laudation which he received from those who flourished contemporaneously with himself. They not only serve to display the general esteem in which he was held, but they also exhibit the rude but expressive style of composition which distinguished the age in which he lived. It was then the custom to welcome the appearance of a successful author with ode and sonnet; and the extracts which follow are from some of the occasional tributes paid to his works:

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND, CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Two greatest Shires of England did thee beare,
Renowned Yorkshire, Gaunt-stild Lancashire;
But what's all this? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabigzanda, Callamata's love,
Deare Pocahontas, Madam Shanoi's too,
Who did what love with modesty could doe,
Record thy worth, thy birth, which, as I live,
Even in thy reading such choice solace give,
As I could wish, (such wishes would doe well)
Many such Smiths in this our Israel.

R. BRATHWAIT.

TO MY NOBLE BROTHER AND FRIEND, CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH

Thou hast a course full of honour runne,
Envy may snarle, as dogges against the Sunne
May barke, not bite: for what deservedly
With thy life's danger, valour, pollicy,
Quaint warlike stratagems, ability
And judgment, thou hast got, fame sets so high

Detraction cannot reach: thy worth shall stand
A patterne to succeeding ages, and,
Cloth'd in thy owne lines, ever shall adde grace
Vnto thy native country and thy race;
And when dissolv'd, laid in thy mother's wombe;
These, Cæsar-like, Smith's Epitaph and tombe.

ANTHONY FEREBY.

TO HIS APPROVED FRIEND, THE AUTHOR, CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

The old Greeke Bard, counts him the onely man,
Who knows strange Countries, like his Ithacan,
And wise, as valiant, by his observation,
Can tell the severall customes of each Nation.
All these are met in thee. Who will not then
Repute thee in the ranke of worthiest men?

To th' Westerne world to former times unknowne,
Thy active spirit hath thy valour showne:
The Turks and Tartars both can testifie,
Thee t' have deserv'd a Captaine's dignity;
But verse thou need'st not to express thy worth,
Thy acts, this booke doe plainly set it forth.

M. CARTNER.

IN THE DESERVED HONOUR OF THE AUTHOR, CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH AND HIS WORKE.

Damn'd Envie is a sprite, that ever haunts
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or ignorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deare worth
(Maugre her malice) sets their glory forth.
If this faire Ouerture, then, take not, it
Is Envie's spight (deare friend) in men of wit;
Or Feare, lest morsels, which our mouths possesse,
Might fall from thence; or else, tis Sottishnesse.
If either, (I hope neither) thee they raise;
Thy Letters* are as Letters in thy praise;
Who, by their vice *improue* (when they *reprooue*)
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.
Then, on firme Worth, this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any *Smith* to *forge* such *fame*.

IOHN DAUIES, *Heref.*

* *Hinderers.*

TO HIS WORTHY CAPTAINE THE AUTHOR.

THAT which wee call the subject of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then scorne the spight
Of Envie; which doth no man's Merits right.
My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this: I'aue said enough before.
Your sometime Souldier,
I. CODRINTON, now Templer.

IN THE DESERVED HONOUR OF MY HONEST AND WORTHY CAPTAINE, IOHN SMITH, AND HIS WORKE.

CAPTAINE and Friend: when I pervse thy Booke
(With Judgement's eyes) into thy *heart* I looke:
And there I finde (what sometimes Albion knew)
A Souldier, to his Countrie's honor, true.
Some fight for *wealth;* and some for *emptie praise;*
But thou alone thy Countrie's Fame to raise.
With due *discretion*, and *vndaunted heart*,
I (oft) so well haue seene thee act thy part
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie.
Though men of greater *Ranke* and lesse *desert*
Would *Pish*-away thy *Praise*, it can not start
From the true *Owner:* for all good men's tongues
Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
If, then, *Wit*, *Courage*, and *Successe* should get
Thee *Fame;* the Muse for *that* is in thy debt:
A part whereof (least able though I be)
Thus here I doe disburse, to honor thee.
RALEIGH CRASHAW.

TO THAT WORTHY AND GENEROUS GENTLEMAN, MY VERY GOOD FRIEND, CAPTAINE SMITH.

MAY Fate thy Project prosper, that thy name
My be eternized with liuing fame:
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Enuie euer waits vpon desert:
In spight of Pelias when his hate lies cold,
Returne as Iason with a fleece of gold.

Then after ages shall record thy praise,
That a New-England to this Ile didst raise:
And when thou di'st (as all that liue must die)
Thy fame liue here; thou, with Eternity.

R. GUNNELL.

TO MY HONEST CAPTAINE, THE AUTHOR.

MALIGNANT Times! What can be said or done,
But shall be censur'd and traduced by some!
This worthy Worke, which thou hast bought so deare,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors need to feare.
Thy words by deeds so long thou hast approu'd,
Of thousands know thee not thou art belou'd.
And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and belou'd, than ere thou wert before.

I neuer knew a Warrier yet, but thee,
From wine, tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
I call thee Warrier: and I make the bolder;
For, many a Captaine now, was neuer Souldier.
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they haue done like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.
Your true friend, sometimes your souldier,

THO. CARLTON.

THE END.

LEA 30

Images Processed by Gary Brin
Copyright © Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library

NANCY HANKS LINCOLN PUBLIC LIBRARY
Historical Book Collection

Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library

NANCY HANKS LINCOLN PUBLIC LIBRARY
Historical Book Collection